

**THE SPOKEN AND THE WRITTEN WORD:
STYLISTIC CREATION IN BLACK BROADCASTING**

by

VELAPHI VICTOR MKHIZE

**A Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
in Orality-Literacy Studies
in the Faculty of Humanities
at the University of Natal - Durban**

PROMOTER: Prof E R Sienaert

December 1992

"The relationship between present-day orality and the orality of preliterate man is a subject few discuss in circumstantial detail. Many are aware of the marked orality of our culture today when compared with the culture of thirty years ago, before the electronic potential first mobilised in the 1840's with the telegraph had matured and become interiorized in life style and world views. But much talk and writing about present-day orality assumes that orality is orality and that since primitive man was highly oral and we are likewise more oral than our immediate ancestors, we are back in the state of preliterate man once more."

ONG (1971:284)

(i)

DECLARATION

I, VELAPHI VICTOR MKHIZE, declare that except for quotations specially indicated in the text, and such help as I have acknowledged, this thesis is wholly my own work and has not been submitted for a degree in any other university.



MKHIZE V V

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I take this opportunity to acknowledge my sincere gratitude to the following persons and organisations:

1. My promoter, Prof E R Sienaert for his stimulating supervision of this study in which he provided constructive and thoughtful suggestions and gave encouragement from beginning to end.
2. Simon Buthelezi of the ISIZWE PRODUCTIONS for his great help during my research in 1990.
3. All the Nguni/Sotho announcers who so willingly participated in this study.
4. Prof Tomaselli and Dr E Louw of the Centre of Cultural and Media Studies for access to some unpublished and published media material, and their invaluable insights into the subject.
5. All who assisted with translations from different Nguni and Sotho Languages to English, including Prof D B Ntuli of the Department of African Languages at UNISA.
6. SABC for granting me permission to undertake this study within its Black orientated services.
7. University of Natal library for assisting in locating some material and journals not available in the Durban library.
8. Vanessa Lewis, for her willingness to give up her time to type this work so efficiently.
9. Reginald N. Dlamini, of Computer Services Division, University of Natal for the editing of the final draft of this work.
10. Rosalie P. Fanning for constructive criticisms and suggestions in the final draft of this work.

11. My wife for her warm encouragement, constant emotional support and capacity to put up with my preoccupation with this study.
12. Finally, I would like to acknowledge the financial contribution made by the University of Natal graduate assistance section and GMP records (Johannesburg) who supported aspects of this study.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>CONTENTS</u>	<u>PAGE</u>
DECLARATION	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
ABSTRACT	ix
PRELIMINARY CHAPTER	xiii
A NOTE OF METHODOLOGY	
CHAPTER ONE	1
1.1. THEME	1
1.1.1. Method of research	3
1.1.2. Technique of analysis	6
1.1.3. Scope and approach	10
1.1.4. Conclusion	23
1.2. THE WORD	25
1.2.1. Introductory perspective	25
1.2.2. Brief survey of the study of the spoken and the written word	27
1.3. STYLE	35
1.3.1. Introduction	35
1.3.1.1. Introductory perspective	35
1.3.1.2. Style defined	35
1.3.2.3. Style in broadcasting	41
1.4. BROADCASTING IN SOUTH AFRICA	45
1.4.1. Broadcasting and Radio defined	45
1.4.1.2. Radio and its characteristics	46
1.4.1.3. Radio as medium and its early years in S.A	51
1.4.2. Radio Broadcasting in South Africa of the 80's	57
1.4.2.1. Radio Broadcasting in South African Society	62
1.4.2.2. Radio Broadcasting and Culture in South Africa	66
1.4.3. Conclusion	72

CHAPTER TWO	67
2.1.	THE HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF RADIO IN SOUTH AFRICA 76
2.1.1.	Introductory perspective 76
2.1.2.	Broadcasting in black languages 76
2.1.2.1.	Black orientated services 77
2.1.2.1.1.	SOTHO GROUP 79
2.1.2.1.1.1.	Radio SeSotho 81
2.1.2.1.1.2.	Radio SeTswana 82
2.1.2.1.1.3.	Radio Lebowa 84
2.1.2.1.1.4.	Radio Venda 86
2.1.2.1.1.5.	Radio Tsonga 87
2.1.2.1.2.	NGUNI GROUP 88
2.1.2.1.2.1.	Radio Zulu 90
2.1.2.1.2.2.	Radio Xhosa 91
2.1.2.1.2.3.	Radio Ndebele 93
2.1.2.1.2.4.	Radio Swazi 95
2.1.2.1.3.	RADIO METRO 96
2.1.2.2.	Black orientated services under the Restructured SABC 98
2.2.	CONCLUSION 105
CHAPTER THREE	107
LANGUAGE AND BROADCASTING	107
3.1.	INTRODUCTORY PERSPECTIVE 107
3.2.	LANGUAGE DEFINED 109
3.3.	LANGUAGE AS MEANS OF COMMUNICATION 114
3.4.	LANGUAGE AND SOCIETY 117
3.4.1.	The oral-aural society 120
3.4.2.	The literate society 123
3.4.3.	The electronic/mechanised society 125
3.5.	LANGUAGE AND TECHNOLOGY 130
3.5.1.	Language usage in broadcasting 131
3.5.1.1.	Language and radio 131
3.5.1.2.	Broadcasting and black languages 137
3.6.	LANGUAGE VARIATIONS/VARIATIONS IN LANGUAGES 138

3.6.1.	Language variations in broadcasting	140
3.7.	CONCLUSION	143
CHAPTER FOUR		146
4.1.	STYLISTIC CREATIONS	146
4.1.1.	Stylistic creations defined	146
4.1.2.	Types of stylistic creations	156
4.1.2.1.	Dry stylistic creations	157
4.1.2.2.	Technologised stylistic creations	161
4.2.	AN ANALYSIS OF STYLISTIC CREATIONS IN BLACK BROADCASTING	170
4.2.1	Introductory perspective.	170
4.2.2.	SOTHO GROUP	172
4.2.2.1.	Stylistic creations in Radio SeSotho	172
4.2.2.2.	Stylistic creations in Radio SeTswana	186
4.2.2.3.	Stylistic creations in Radio Lebowa	199
4.2.2.4.	Stylistic creations in Radio Venda	224
4.2.2.5.	Stylistic creations in Radio Tsonga	249
4.2.2.6	Stylistic creations in Sotho sermons	257
4.2.3.	NGUNI GROUP	270
4.2.3.1.	Stylistic creations in Radio Zulu	271
4.2.3.2.	Stylistic creations in Radio Xhosa	330
4.2.3.3.	Stylistic creations in Radio Ndebele	372
4.2.3.4.	Stylistic creations in Radio Swazi	386
4.2.4.	RADIO METRO	399
4.2.4.1.	Stylistic creations in Radio Metro	399
4.2.5	Stylistic creations in Nguni sermons	406
4.2.6	Conclusion	419
4.3.	Artistic Overview Of Black Stylistic Creations	421
4.3.1	Introductory perspective	421
4.3.1.1.	Imagery	423
4.3.1.2.	Form	444
4.4.	CONCLUSION	461
CHAPTER FIVE		466
5.1.	EFFECTS OF STYLISTIC CREATIONS	466
5.1.1	Introductory Perspective	466
5.2.	Effects of styles	468

5.2.1.	Effects on society	468
5.2.1.1	Effects on society : Nationally	471
5.2.1.2	Effects on society : Locally	474
5.2.2.	Effects on family group	479
5.2.3.	Effects on musical groups	485
5.2.4.	Effects on the individual	495
5.2.5.	Effects within the broadcasting community	502
5.2.5.1.	Internal effects	508
5.2.5.2.	External effects	516
5.3.	CONCLUSION	529
CHAPTER SIX		534
6.1.	CONCLUSIONS	534
6.1.1.	Possible acculturation in broadcasting	538
6.1.2.	Stylistic creations and future of broadcasting	530
6.1.3.	Broadcasting perspective	564
APPENDIX A		
1. Maps		
APPENDIX B		
1. Announcers' Stylistic Creations with translations		566
2. Sermons with translations		566
BIBLIOGRAPHY		
1. Primary Sources		654
2. Secondary Sources		663
INDEX NOMINUM		
INDEX RERUM		

ABSTRACT

In this investigation an attempt is made to show that in the world of radio communications in South Africa the oral mode of expression or radio oralism is manifestly more valued than the literate mode.

The study deals with three basic issues: firstly, the new electronic culture which, to a large extent, depends on the spoken word, secondly, the significance of the spoken word that new mass media has developed; and, thirdly, what is likely to happen in broadcasting as a whole in South Africa, where the new oralism already had a decisive impact.

The study explores the structure of the oral poetic language of radio grammar by examining black announcers' language usage. The thesis focuses on the individual announcer, her or his repertoire of repetitions and styles, and the quality of her or his practice of the traditional artistic expressions. It explores why one phrase is used and not another; it examines the many forms of repetition, their meanings, sounds, and the sound patterns formed by what precedes and follows them.

Starting with the individual announcer, the study worked outwards to the group to which she/he belongs, namely to other announcers who have influenced him or her and then to South African black society as a whole.

The language of black South African radio announcers is in many respects stylised and ordered. In their creations, these announcers have incorporated praise names, geneologies and formulas which show their reliance both on the more specialized bardic repertoire and on the wider *Izibongo* tradition.

At the end of this study, four things are noted:

1. The meaning of word in radio is controlled by what Goody and Watt (1968:28) call 'direct semantic ratification', that is by the real-life situations in which the word is used here and now. Words acquire their meanings only from their insistent actual habits - these include gestures, vocal inflections, and the entire human existential setting in which real, spoken words always occur.

2. In radio, all expression and thought is, to a degree, formulaic in the sense that every word and every concept conveyed in a word is a kind of formula. Radio, like oral cultures, tends to use concepts in situational and operational frames of reference that are minimally abstract, that is they remain close to the human lifeworld (Ong 1982). It reveals that the new oralism has striking resemblances to the old in its participatory mystique, in its fostering of a communal sense, in its concentration on the present moment, and even in its use of formulas.

3. Announcers, although having been influenced by literacy, are still largely making use of mnemonic devices associated with oral cultures. The consciousness of black radio announcers has been steeped in their own oral traditions, from childhood. It is the rich rhythmic and balanced patterns of that orality that they use to advantage on the air while the formulaic aspect of this new radio oralism serves as a mnemonic to help the announcer reduce the 'distance' between himself and his audience in order to accomplish his purpose.

4. The tradition in which the announcers are broadcasting is never a static one but one which has been subject to constant change. The concept of praises still retains an identifiable character which is based on the tradition in

the past. The announcer's relationship with his listeners and the role which his stylistic creations play within that particular society are of utmost importance in his broadcasting career. It would seem that the tradition has now simply grown and adapted to its environment.

Radio, like any technology, has created a new human environment, where black announcers express the new language in the traditional mode of a praise poem, rather than an adopted style, so using the old form for the new content.

This study of oral formulaic language in the Black announcers' stylistic creations finds its place in the larger investigation of oral literature.

PRELIMINARY CHAPTER

A Note on Methodology

The Parry-Lord theory or Oral Composition Theory has been extensively applied to the study of oral traditions in different fields. A number of works (Ong 1967, 1977, 1982, Lord 1960, Duggan, 1977, Foley 1977, Goody 1968, 1977, Jousse 1990, Havelock 1978) have appeared that deepen our knowledge of oral tradition in general as well as of the older texts they discuss. In recent years, some works on oral and literate compositions have appeared still propounding this theory but no longer in the discussion merely of old texts. Writers have been analysing the new developments of literacy, namely print, writing, computers and the effects of these on the human psyche (Ong 1982; McLuhan 1962a, 1962b, 1972; McLuhan and Fiore 1967; Goody 1972, 1973, 1977, 1986, 1987a, 1987b; and Finnegan 1973, 1988). Finnegan (1988), in her latest work, has looked at the changes in communication technology from an orality-literacy perspective.

Such studies have motivated us to examine the same forms of oral expression in modern radio tradition. Changes in communication technology have resulted in altered styles

that 'incorporate an astounding variety and diversity of oral forms, a continuum ranging from aesthetic sound, to musical expressions (jingles) encompassing all the nuances of the literate, the verbal speech and the mere vocal' (Kaschula 1992).

I therefore, decided to look at those forms of oral expressions on radio, and in particular the stylistic creations of announcers. As Lakoff (1982:241) once noted:

For various reasons, some social, some technological, we are at present in the process of shifting, so that we prefer and respond most appropriately to communications in any mode couched in an oral framework.

Two questions prompted this particular study:

1. In what tradition are black announcers broadcasting and how strong is that tradition?
2. How traditional are announcers' individual creativities within that tradition?

Black broadcasting and the changing tradition of the black announcers in South Africa was seen open to a study where the impact of oral 'tradition' on announcers' psyche can be assessed. No one has hitherto looked at radio solely, from an oral perspective, and, in particular, at the stylistic creations of announcers. Because of this there are a few problems that need to be clarified.

Finnegan recently admitted that:

Much of the study of oral traditions has thus been based on collections and analysis taking the notion of 'text' as the point of departure.
(Finnegan 1992:3)

This study differs from what Finnegan is referring to in that it is based on oral expressions (i.e. oral discourse) which were collected through audio recordings of sung or spoken performances on radio; while others were not recorded but just monitored on air.

The black announcers' stylistic creations have been monitored on air since 1988. Different SABC's ethnic services were monitored. The monitoring of these styles was done without informing the announcers. Later in 1990, different stations were visited so as to monitor the announcers more closely, but they were unaware that I, as a researcher, was present. A written record of stylistic devices peculiar to each announcer was made.

In the research, I tried to avoid what Goldstein (1964) called 'induced-natural' contexts, in which the performers know they are being recorded. Therefore, there are those programmes which were recorded, and those which

were only monitored.

In the analysis of my researched corpus, I encountered the following problems:

1. Understanding of language and culture.

Our study deals with nine black ethnic indigenous languages, namely Zulu, Xhosa, Swazi, Ndebele, South Sotho, North Sotho (Pedi), Tswana, Tsonga and Venda. Some of these black announcers expressions are based largely on the culture of the specific people. For example, Tsongas speak of *XiKwemba* which is the god of water staying in water, while Vendas speak of *Kwinda la Tshirundu-vhuya* which is believed to be a kind of a small traditional animal with paws.

2. Indication of some oral devices

In listening to these stylistic creations, it was noticed that 'there are degrees of innovation, ranging from mere repetition, to embroidery, elaboration and variation and originality' (Henderson 1992) in them. Although it is easy to illustrate some of these oral devices, such as repetitions and variations, it is more difficult to analyse some of the major accoustic features, namely, rhythm, stress and tone.

3. Translation to understand the meaning of the composition

Translation from one language to another has been the procedure in all folklore research. Scheub (1971) in his work *Translation of African Oral Narrative: Performances to the Written Word* and Graham (1989) in '*Translation, Theories of*' have commented on this problem of translation. Firstly, for all these styles to be understood, they had to be translated into English. Though literal translation could be easily used, there was that problem of the signifcance of words deeply rooted in the culture itself. Secondly, as usual in oral expressions, some of the words are metaphorically used, and there are the cultural connotations and significations of metaphors to note.

Yai in Finnegan (1991:13) writing about translation urges the following points:

1. The translator must first be immersed in the culture

of the source language ... as the putative translator must have lived oral performances in the source language.

2. The second step is the search for viable and orally acceptable equivalent forms in the target language.

This clearly means a translation done with the aid of a dictionary, without being involved in the culture, is invalid. In our translation we had to be careful not to destroy the oral connotations of poetics which are carried in the compositions. Finnegan, too, has commented on the problem of translation that:

There are more problems still in the model of language as expressive or of action - which would support for the translation of oral forms - for this means attention to context, including performance, non-verbal accompaniments and audience interactions.
(Finnegan 1991:10)

In my work there was no audience physically involved. To compensate for that, certain 'words' whose compositions are exaggerated in their pronunciation to show that the announcer wants to drive a certain message to his listeners forcefully. It seems difficult to convey that original force and rhythm in writing.

What must be clearly highlighted here is that this work will not only be foreign to foreign readers but also to the speakers of these specific ethnic languages themselves. Some words will sound unimaginative when seen written down, but when heard on radio they are dynamic

and vocative and force one to respond. The rythmical way in which Mnisi of Radio Zulu says

Shisa, Shisa

(Burn, Burn)
and:

Shisa we-na, maan

(Burn you, maan)

is very melodious and luring on air. The accoustic enchantment is lost in translation and in written form.

There are other oral radio expressions which are impossible to translate into another language, for example the composition of Phillip Mahlangu of Radio Ndebele:

Sprokoriko
Punka punka ...
Aya aya ayoba

(These three expressions are not translatable since they have no meaning).

In my translation, examples such as this were left untranslated.

Though Finnegan argued that:

Translation is not an absolute process, and no one of

its manifestations, not even the often-assumed word-for-word 'correspondence' model, is self-evidently the most 'accurate' one. Whatever choices are followed, something of the original will not be conveyed into the 'target' language, or will be communicated in ways which change that original.
(Finnegan 1991:11)

In order to solve some of the problems, I devised the following means of clarification.

Announcers were asked during the research to write down what they thought they said as air personalities when broadcasting.

Later, the meaning and origin of these styles was discussed with them. In order to be accurate, translations of the styles were verified with some listeners in that language, and later discussed with different senior lecturers and professors in the Department of African Languages at UNISA and the University of Natal's Department of Zulu Language and Literature, who checked the translation and spelling.

1. Zulu, Xhosa, Ndebele and Swazi - Mr E Zondi and S E Ngubane - Department of Zulu Language and Literature - University of Natal.
2. Southern Sotho - Mr T J Selepe
3. Northern Sotho (Pedi) - Prof S M Serudu
4. Tswana - Mr J S F Shole
5. Venda - Mr M J Mafela

The use of high/low tones seems to remain the same as it would in ordinary spoken discourse. The difference, though, is that there is a lot more emphasis on the high/low tones. The high/low tones are very clearly definable, supplementing the use of guttural voice and serving to maintain audience attention.

(Kaschula 1991:138)

Owing to factors such as these, black broadcasters' styles are like shouting when compared to those of their white counterparts.

In conclusion, this study will show that:

1. Black announcers have taken older forms to create new syntheses.
2. Changing times and situations have called upon people (announcers) to communicate in traditional forms of spoken language that have adapted themselves to modern forms without losing their artistic integrity (Ntshinga 1991).
3. There are still sophisticated of forms of orature and more broadly sung (jingles) and spoken expressive art forms in South Africa in radio communication (cf Gunner 1991).
4. Though the traditions of black people have been influenced by English literacy, they have not lost their vigour.

Even though announcers' psyches have been influenced by writing, they are still producing these 'powerful and beautiful verbal performances' in post-primary and pre-secondary orality. This makes us concur with Ntshinga in *The Dynamic Nature of Xhosa Women's Songs*:

They are vital enough to sustain themselves, and to imbibe new elements. Because of the changed pattern of people's lives, the context in which the songs are performed has changed. These songs have neither died, nor are they in the process of dying, but they have

shifted to dynamic contexts. They are to be found not necessarily in new contexts, but in changed ones. On the other hand, the language of the people grows and changes along with their oral tradition as people come in contact with or create new ideas.

(Ntshinga 1991:118)

In this study it will be obvious that black announcers' rely heavily on the mnemonic devices of oral communication : parallelism, alliteration,rythym,imagery, geneologies - features that are associated with the communication patterns of oral cultures. Announcers strive like the imbongi to be culturally selective - to address the present moment.

It will become clear that the announcer has a creative and dynamic role in a changing society.

CHAPTER ONE

1.1. THEME

Radio has its own way of using words, different from any other forms of media, for example, newspapers, books, television and telephone. Words on the radio, as Crisell (1986) puts it, could be regarded as the application of oral language where words are always unavoidably spoken.

The exponents of stylistic creations as formed in broadcasting are:

1. Dry stylistic creations;
2. Technologised stylistic creations.

These exponents account for whether the style is accompanied by any form of music such as a 'jingle' or if it is purely oral utterances of the relevant announcer during broadcasting.

Messages in radio consist primarily of speech, and speech consists not just of words, as writing does, but always of words expressed in 'voice'. The words of announcers reach our ears through the electronic process of broadcasting.

In black orientated broadcasting¹ there has been a vast change of broadcasting style from traditional orality to new orality. In recent years there has been an increasing use of English as well as Afrikaans words by black announcers.

There are two hypotheses that will be tested in our study:

1. Announcers aged from 40 upwards are wearying of innovations; and
2. Announcers aged from 25-40 are more keen to innovate new broadcasting styles.

Briefly, this means announcers aged from 40 upwards use traditional styles more in their broadcasting. The level of interaction between orality and literacy will be higher in announcers aged less than 40 years.

This shift confirms the move from the old traditional oral style to a new 'spoken' written style in broadcasting.

Words or phrases occurring in previously recorded musical programme tapes and in written scripts, for example, sermons and documentaries, as investigated, will give us insight into how announcers identify themselves 'on air' as unique individuals.

1

These are services which were established by the SABC to broadcast in nine separate black vernaculars, namely, Zulu, Xhosa, Swazi, Ndebele, Sotho, Pedi, Venda, Tswana, Tsonga, and Shangaan, each with its own station in order to implement apartheid based tribalism (Tomaselli et al 1989).

Stylistic creations in this study will be concerned with the expressive and invocative values of the word as a sign-token (this will be clarified later), which embodies a physical sign-event, written, spoken, gesture sign.

1.1.1.1. Method of research

The above approach will run along two methodologies:

1. Field work in the following sections:
 - a) All the SABC's black services were monitored, i.e. Nguni, Sotho and Metro.
 - b) Different expressions of various announcers of these services were recorded to be analysed, after they had been monitored 'on air'.
2. The orality-literacy theory as propounded inter alia by Parry(1928), Lord(1960), Ong(1958-82), McLuhan(1964,1967) and Havelock(1963,1976,1978), on the spoken and written word in different cultures and on how written words affect our psyche.

The general acceptability of these stylistic creations were confirmed by consulting all the chosen announcers. A special research form was designed to be filled in by the relevant announcers.

The form designed was as follows:

PH D RESEARCH

THE SPOKEN AND THE WRITTEN WORD:

STYLISTIC CREATIONS IN BLACK BROADCASTING

NAME OF RADIO

STATION:.....

ANNOUNCER'S

NAME:.....

PLACE OF

BIRTH:.....

AGE:.....

PRESENT RESIDENTIAL

PLACE:.....

HIGHEST QUALIFICATIONS PRESENTLY

HELD:.....

WHEN STARTED AS ANNOUNCER IN THE

STATION:.....

RESPONSIBLE

PROGRAMMES:.....

AIR PERSONALITIES/STYLES:

EXPLANATION:

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

During the recording or monitoring of programmes, we distinguished between musical and documentary programmes. The radio services divided these programmes into formal and informal programmes. A formal programme is one where the announcer ought to prepare a script before presenting the programme on air, for example, sermons, news and documentaries. Informal programmes embrace musical programmes which are normally done 'live' (i.e. physical presence of the announcer) in the studio. Though extracts from scripture are used as sources of inspiration they are considered as informal programmes, since preaching is creation on its own (Rosenberg 1970) and not dependant on a script. 'Sermons' may be divided into informal and formal presentation.

Since all the stylistic creations in this thesis are from different South African black languages, an explanation or translation was asked from the announcers concerned and some listeners, for each and every word or phrase used in the style so as to ascertain the grammatical acceptability of the 'word' or 'phrase' (used in the expression) in the respective language.

1.1.2. The technique of analysis

In this investigation an assumption is made that the radio is solely dependent on a word. This word might be spoken, spoken from a text, or just written. Although the radio broadcasts consists of music and sound effects, the basis of everything is a "word". Music and sound effects will never be able to clarify what is happening, or will be happening in the next minute or hour in the radio (See Crisell (1986:57) who concludes that:

... music does not enshrine the kind of meaning that words do.

Since words on the radio could be regarded as the application of oral language to a situation which calls for writing, an attempt will be made in this study to analyse 'words' from three broad levels as formulated by Flesch (1951).

They are namely:

1. Live words;
2. Empty words;
3. Crowded words.

1. LIVE WORDS

Verbs give life to any sentence or clause, especially in black languages. In fact, they make the sentence a creative unit of thought. Linguistically or grammatically, the meaning is carried forward because of the presence of a verb.

A good example can be drawn from a few of our stylistic creations:

'Shiza' is a verb meaning 'to burn'. But the responsible announcer uses it in the context of 'dancing when there is music in the background'. It is a gimmick to inspire people to join the 'stage' and dance.

'Woza nawe' is also another example which is very ambiguous in its use (see Chapter 4, Section 4.2.2.1. for further analysis). 'Woza' means 'come'; 'nawe' means you/and you. Firstly, the announcer here may mean 'I (the announcer) am dancing, please join me'. Secondly, he may mean 'Come, lets go dancing to the music' or 'Lets go and have fun'. This shows that verbs are the main

words in black language¹ which provide us with multi-layered meaning.

2. Empty words

In the radio you talk to an audience who cannot talk back. You cannot even look at them to see whether they understand or not. There are words which an announcer may use which carry no meaning at all in his particular language which we may assign as 'language gadgets':

... words which cannot form a sentence and do not refer to something outside language.
(Flesch 1951:59)

A good example of an 'empty word' is provided by one of Radio Ndebele's top announcers, P D Mahlangu (for discussion of his style see Chapter 4). When introducing his programmes, he usually uses '*Sprokoriko/Spokoriko*' which is just such a 'language gadget' as described by Flesch. It sounds like parts of words put together to form a meaningless word or noise that might identify somebody (more such words will be dealt with later in Chapter 4).

Flesch (1951) divides 'language gadgets' into two kinds:

1. Words by themselves;
2. Parts of words.

1

Black language includes Nguni and Sotho clusters. Zulu cluster includes Zulu, Xhosa, Ndebele, Swazi whereas Sotho cluster includes Southern Sotho, Tswana, Pedi, Venda and Tsonga.

3. Crowded words

In broadcasting, though the announcer is aware of all grammatical rules and language usages, he needs not concentrate on them whilst talking. He normally leaves grammatical labels behind to see what words do in and to a sentence. He does not bother whether a particular word is an adjective or a noun. He can use a word which is his coinage or creation, which might later, to a linguist, sound like a 'crowded word', i.e. falling in more than one class or category. Since radio is more oral than written, it may be of no importance under which category the word falls.

Whenever Themba Gasa, One of the Radio Zulu top newsreaders, introduces or greets his listeners, he normally uses the words:

Heshe/Awu Heshe

There you are/salute

Grammatically 'heshe' is an interjective from which a verb *hesheza* can be derived of which the announcer might not be aware.

Another example is an expression used by Thokozane Nene also of Radio Zulu:

'Khuz'imoni'

(Greet the morning)

Khuza means 'avoid' and *imoni* is his coinage from an English word 'morning' (further explanation will be given later in Chapter 4). *Khuza* may be categorised as a full verb functioning as an imperative or as an infinitive (*ukukhuza!*). This word may be taken as a crowded word which may need a thorough linguistic knowledge of Zulu language in order to understand the way it is used.

1.1.3. Scope and approach

This study aims at investigating or examining some words or sentences as used by different radio announcers in all ten black orientated services of the SABC, broadcast in ten different languages.

There will be no opportunity of going deeply into the grammatical structures of these languages. There will be an indication of some grammatical possibilities of that particular construction in the relevant language. The study will differentiate between the stylistic variation and non-stylistic variation. By this is

meant the way the information is presented which alters its 'aesthetic quality' as against the simple way of saying something. It will look at the distinction between what is said and how it is said. It will look closely at the utterance tokens as uttered by the announcers.

Most utterance tokens, if not all, can be identified as tokens of a given type independently of the actual situations in which they occur, their identification being made on structural, rather than functional, grounds.

(Lyons 1977:572)

These utterances (words or sentences) must have some linguistic and cultural relevance.

It is assumed that radio is solely oral, that is 'its words cannot be seen by the receiver but only heard by him' (Crisell 1986:58). The study will consider both the spoken and the 'written spoken' words used by the announcers.

We will clearly show that most words used in the radio are spontaneous, most of the time, and very few are written down. All the relevant collected stylistic creations of various announcers will prove the 'oralist mode' of the radio. To this extent, Hartley (1978:160) has characterised the radio language as an intersection of oral and literary language.

Our study will be centred around two levels:

1. the word as a sign-token, i.e. spoken (physical utterances), or written spoken, and
2. the person or character who is speaking.

Crisell (1986:46) explaining these two levels says:

... there is an important difference between words which are written or printed on a page and words on the radio, and that is that words on the radio are always and unavoidably spoken. They therefore constitute a binary code in which the words themselves are symbols of what they represent, while the voice in which they are heard is an index of the person or 'character' who is speaking ...

Scuphan (1970:82) is also of the same idea:

... with words we identify the individual.

That is how we normally recognise the announcers over the radio, through the voice and the words they use.

The study will concentrate on the peculiarities of style, on its traits differentiating it from the surrounding linguistic systems. It will look at the use of the particular form or the use of a particular grammatical construction, for example, syntactic deviations.

Since this study will concentrate on the manner in which the word is used in the radio and the 'new era of technology', much use will be made of the 'theories' of scholars such as:

1. McLuhan (1962, 1964, 1967)
2. Ong (1967, 1971, 1977, 1978, 1982)

3. Goody (1968, 1977, 1989).

Marshall McLuhan is a most influential author of orality in recent times. His theory is that the media a man uses to extend his senses and his faculties will determine what he is, rather than the other way round. The new technologies of the electronic age, notably television, radio, the telephone and computers, make up a new environment.

In his research on the dynamics of orality, Ong has looked deeply into primary oral cultures and cultures affected by the use of writing whereas Goody has researched the fundamental significance of the spoken language for human interaction, the complex and often confused relationship between the written and the oral in three major contexts, viz:

1. that internal to a given society
2. that between cultures or societies with and without writing
3. and that within the linguistic life of an individual.

(Goody 1989:IX)

Though the findings of our study will be tested against our hypothesis as outlined in 1.1. above, and also against the orality-literacy theory as propounded by Parry and Lord , it must be taken into consideration that the Parry-Lord

theory was directed at observing the entire process of communicating oral conditions, and no effects of writing, cognitively and socially were investigated or taken into consideration.

McLuhan (1962:3), explaining this, says:

Parry and Lord , that is, studied the poetic organism when the auditory function was suppressed by literacy. They might have considered the effect on the organism when the visual function of language was given extraordinary extension and power by literacy.

Ong , McLuhan and Goody only advanced their research or investigation by focussing on the relations between orality and literacy, which is writing - especially the word in the electronic age.

1.1.3.1. McLuhan's theory

McLuhan(1962) distinguishes between three eras delineated by the respective form of the transmission of information:

1. The illiterate, tribal epoch;
2. The typographical, mechanistic and individualistic Gutenberg era;
3. The electronic epoch.

(McLuhan 1962)

Writing, according to McLuhan(1962), is not a repetition or reproduction of oral speech, but amounts to a new language

favouring analytical thinking. With the invention of the printing press, the reorganisation became complete, and individualism was born. With electro-technologies, the human being created a true-to-nature model of his central nervous system, which he broadened and externalised. Humanity, for McLuhan(1967) , is living in a 'global village', created by electronic interdependence. He contends that we are living in a single compressed space that is resounding with jingle drums.

This is our 'electric age' where our cultures have been mechanized:

In this electric age we see ourselves being translated more and more into the form of information, moving toward the technologised extension of consciousness.
(McLuhan 1964:57)

and in:

All media are active metaphors in their power to translate experience into new forms. The spoken word was the first technology by which man was able to let go of his environment in order to grasp it in a new way. Words are a kind of information retrieval that can range over the total environment and experience at a high speed. Words are complex systems of metaphors and symbols that translate experience into our uttered or outered senses. They are a technology of explicitness.

(McLuhan 1964:57)

The aural sense according to McLuhan is becoming dominant again. People are getting their information primarily by hearing it. They are literate, but their primary source is the radio, the telephone, the television set.

Commenting about the radio he says:

Even more than telephone or telegraph, radio is that extension of the central nervous system that is matched only by human speech itself.

(McLuhan 1964:302)

Further, the power of radio:

... to tribalise mankind, its almost instant reversal of individualism into collectivism.

(McLuhan 1964:302)

McLuhan has not only looked at the word and radio but he also focuses on the effects of radio to humankind:

Radio affects most people intimately, person-to-person, offering a world of unspoken communication between writer, speaker and listener.

(McLuhan 1970:28)

This is an immediate aspect of radio. Radio shares a feature of writing : both create a private world. Every culture and every age or era has its favourite model of perception and knowledge, that it is inclined to prescribe for everybody and everything.

McLuhan does not see our 'mechanised' culture as something new because even today:

We actually live mythically and integrally, as it were, but we continue to think in the old, fragmented space and time patterns of the pre-electric age.

(McLuhan 1964:4)

The radio envelopes by sound, and hence we are normally in the interfaced situation.

In short, McLuhan's theory may be summed up by saying that all media are extensions of some faculty - psychic or physical.

1.1.3.2. Ong's theory

McLuhan referred to our age as an electric age (1964), the 'age of anxiety' (1968) where medium is the message (1967).

Walter J. Ong, the humanist, named our era the 'electronic era', where the 'word' is fully technologised. What Ong is investigating, in almost every instance, is interface.

Unlike McLuhan, in terms of communication media, Ong divides culture conveniently into three successive stages:

1. The oral or oral-aural stage
2. The script stage, which reaches critical breakthrough with the invention first of the alphabetic movable type, and
3. The electronic stage

(Ong 1967:17)

The oral-aural culture is necessarily a culture with a relationship to time different from ours. It has no records. It does have memory. In this culture:

The word is something that happens, an event in the world of sound through which the mind is enabled to relate actuality to itself.

(Ong 1967:22)

In a manuscript culture, which has already committed the word to space, the spoken word has a depth and intensity continuous with but far exceeding that achieved by alphabetic chirography.

The age of radio, telephone and television is the age of 'secondary orality' (Ong 1982). In this age, he argues, the way we communicate affects the way we think. Every new technology from communication - writing, printing, broadcasting, word processing - transforms human consciousness.

Though Ong's initial task was to explain how the technology of writing changed the way people think, his point of departure is a word; where it was never written down, but remained sound.

Writing and printing have led us to believe that words are fundamentally objects, things. Many of us do not think a word is a real word until it is printed in a dictionary where we can see it. We forget that words are not objects, stably anchored. They are happenings, events. When we read, we are transposing the written or printed marks into happenings, sounding them alive or in our imagination.

(Ong in Batz 1988:25)

Thus Ong clearly shows that a person moving from orality into the world of writing comes across many problems.

Everyone who writes must move, at some point in his life, from the world of oral exchange. Oral cultures produce powerful and beautiful verbal performances of high artistic and human worth. In a primary oral culture:

... human beings, those untouched by writing in any form, learn a great deal, and possess and practice great wisdom, but they do not study.
(Ong 1982:9)

It is totally impossible in oral cultures to think through something in non-formulaic, non-patterned, non-mnemonic terms. Experience is intellectualised mnemonically.

.. all expressions and all thought is to a degree formulaic in the sense that every word and every concept in a word is a kind of formula
(Ong 1982:36)

Though Ong investigated the oral cultures, it is interesting to note that he confirms that 'writing from the beginning did not reduce orality but enhanced it' (Ong 1982:9). Electronics have revived the directness of oral communication and reawakened some of the impulses of oral culture:

Electronic developments have gone both ways, enhanced both visual and oral aspects, of communication
(Ong in Batz 1988:27)

Writing initiated what printing and electronics could only continue: the separation of the word from the living present.

Secondary orality is by no means independent of writing and print but totally dependent on them. Without writing and print, electronic equipment cannot be manufactured and radio and television cannot be managed (Ong 1978). In this media conscious world we have interiorised writing. We have made it so much a part of ourselves. We are living in the midst of writing and print and the computer which are all ways of technologising the word. Technology has shaped, powered and transformed our consciousness.

A new medium, finally transforms not only the one which immediately precedes it but often all of those which preceded it all the way back to the beginning.
(Ong 1977:91)

1.1.3.3. Goody's theory

Social anthropologists also have gone more directly into the matter of orality. Jack Goody, in his series of essays (1963, 1968, 1971, 1975, 1980) and books (1968, 1977, 1989) examines in depth the complex and often confused relationship between oral and literate modes of communication. He convincingly shows the shift from what he labelled as magic to science or from 'pre-logical' to the more and more 'rational' state of consciousness, (Levy-Bruhl 1910) or from 'savage mind' (Levi-Strauss 1962) to domesticated thought (Goody 1977) which can be explained as a shift from orality to various stages of literacy.

In *The Interface Between the Written and the Oral* (1989), Goody considers the interface between the written and the oral in three major contexts:

1. The meeting of cultures with and without writing, historically and geographically
2. The interface of written and oral traditions in societies that employ writing to varying degrees in various contexts.
3. The interface between the use of writing and speech in linguistic life of any individual.

(Goody 1987:ix)

Like McLuhan and Ong , Goody has also investigated the effects and influences of literacy (writing and printing) on the social life of mankind.

In his introductory remarks in his work Literacy in Traditional Societies (1968), he writes:

Considering the importance of writing over the past 5000 years, and the profound effects it has had on the lives of each and all, surprisingly little attention has been given to the way in which it has influenced the social life of mankind.

(Goody 1968:1)

And:

The importance of writing lies in its creating a new medium of communication between men. Its essential service is to objectify speech, to provide language with a material correlative, a set of visible signs ... What people say and think can be rescued from the transitoriness of oral communication.

(Goody 1968:1)

Writing objectifies words, makes them and their meaning available for much prolonged and intensive scrutiny than is possible orally. It encourages private thought and distances the writer from his audience.

In oral societies the cultural tradition is transmitted almost entirely by face-to-face communication, and changes in its content are accompanied by the process of forgetting or transforming those parts of the tradition that cease to be either necessary or relevant.

Literate societies, on the other hand, are faced with permanently recorded versions of the past and its beliefs, and because the past is so apart from the present, historical inquiring becomes possible. In the investigation on orality and literacy, which is an investigation of the spoken and the written word, Goody (1968) argues that we overlook the existence of mnemonic devices in oral cultures which offer some resistance to the interpretative process.

He suggests:

We have to be careful not to set up oral cultures as a more satisfying version of our own corrupted civilization, the culture of cities, written culture, as the cure for all barbarians. It is just such an intermediary position we have tried to maintain between the written and the oral.

(Goody 1989:293)

His investigation of the effects of writing on an individual psyche of the Vai people, proved what he calls 'unmediated' and 'mediated' consequences as 'cultural' rather than 'individual'. He proved that writing may change an individual's perception of the relation between words and their referent; and when a language is put down on things (Goody 1989:27).

1.1.4. Conclusion

This section of the first chapter gives a broad outline of our aim in this study: the tendency of announcers to rely on oralism though some technical terms will be explained more clearly as we go on with our investigation.

It must be clear that the study is not investigating the use of a word in a primary oral culture or era, but it investigates what Ong calls electrified orality, which exists because of the existence of Radio and other forms of electronic media.

It must be explained that scholars mentioned above are not actually concerned with broadcasting, or the radio as a medium of communication. They are concerned with the WORD as it is transformed from its pure oral stage to the electrified oral stage through technology. Indeed, they have done commendable research in old primary oralism and the residual forms it takes in human spoken and written communication.

The theories and some of the ideas expressed by these three scholars will guide us and be influential in this study, since radio is that extension of the central nervous system that is matched only by human speech itself (McLuhan 1964:302), and it has brought us into the age of 'secondary orality' which is the age of electronic verbalisation (Ong 1971, 1982), and created its own 'electrified orality' (Goody 1968).

Their ideas will also guide us in our analysis of the black announcers' stylistic creations to see how well they reflect general trends in oral composition.

1.2. THE WORD

1.2.1. Introductory perspective

This study will deal with a word that might be 'spoken', or with 'written speech', or with the word as used by the radio in the creation or formation of different styles. As a word is one of those terms which are not just readily amenable to formal definition, the study will only explain the manner in which the word is going to be used, so as to delimit our scope.

The word itself is a linguistic though neutral sign. It is capable of infinite re-appropriation within different types of utterances.

Ong (1967:323) contends that the word can never be completely defined. The word:

... cannot be seen, cannot be handed about, cannot be 'broken' and reassembled ... To want to define the word (or the concept) associated with it is somehow to want to remove it from its natural habitat and place it in a visual field. Definition is useful and true, but never ultimate.

Further the word:

... shares all the richness of human life and it can be studied from countless different standpoints. Most of them complicated by that they are intimately related to one another. One can, for example, examine the word as name, as term, as concept, or as part of speech, perhaps taking up in this last case the

fascinating difference between the word as name or as noun.

(Ong 1967:x)

The word is thus a datum with history, and a complex one.

Ellul (1985:17) delimits the scope of our study by saying 'language is word'. Explaining this, he says:

The word is, of necessity, spoken to someone. If no one is present, it is spoken to oneself or to God. It presupposes the ear; the Great Ear, if necessary. It calls for a response. Every word, even a swear word, an insult, an exclamation, or a soliloquy, begins a dialogue.

St John sums matters up with the philosophic essay about the word, thus:

In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.

(John 1:14)

and:

The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us.

(John 1:14)

It is this word that our study will concentrate on, as it was in the beginning, and was passed on to us as 'spoken', that is a physical utterance or gesture.

1.2.2. A brief survey of the study of the spoken and the written word

Linguists (Lyons 1977, Leach 1976), psychologists, (Gray & Wise 1959, Bernstein 1962), sociologists (Cooley 1909, Cook-Gumpez 1986) and anthropologists (Goody 1972, 1977, 1986) who study communication strategies agree that the way we express and understand ideas in writing is in many crucial ways different from the way we express the same ideas in oral literature.

Looking back in the Greek era, in a famous passage of the Phaedrus (274c-277a), Socrates is represented as being suspicious of the art of writing. Though it is supposed to be a help to the memory, actually it leads to more forgetfulness, since it encourages one to rely on written characters than on memory. Moreover, the written word is not really intelligible or certain, nor is it better than knowledge and recollection of its subject matter. Writing cannot answer questions, but give one unvarying answer. Better is the word that is written with understanding in the soul of the learner, that can defend itself, and that knows when to speak and when to be silent (Greene 1951).

Greene, whose views we support, continues:

What Socrates does not say, but what is nevertheless true, is that the written word at its best seeks to convey an illusion of the spontaneity of the spoken word, but with such perfection of form as the premeditated speech seldom achieves, and conversely

that the spoken word, in the age of writing, aims at the considered structure of the written word, but without abandoning its own sense of immediacy and responsiveness to social use.

(Green 1951:152)

In our present era also, a good deal has been done in the spoken and the written language but little has been done in the spoken, the written spoken, and the written word with special reference to the 'new oralism', in radio, telephone and television.

Scholars like Olson (1977), Rubin (1978), Vachek (1976), Tannen (1976) and Goody and Watt (1963) have shown that speech differs from writing.

Greenfield (1972) has looked at oral and the written language used by, as well as the consequences for cognitive developments in Africa and the USA. Her central thesis revolves around the distinction between an oral language and speaking a written language.

Firstly, oral and written speech involve differing patterns of language use (this will be clearly seen in the announcers' styles in Chapter 4).

Secondly, these two patterns of language use are related to different educational methods of and different courses of cognitive developments.

The main difference between an oral language and written speech is the 'context'. Speakers of an oral language rely more on context for the communication of their verbal message:

...context-dependent speech is tied up with context-dependent thought which in turn is the opposite of abstract thought...

(Greenfield 1972:169)

Comparing the oral and written cultures, Greenfield says:

If the speaker of an oral language depends upon the surrounding context to communicate his message, then effective communication presupposes a 'common' context and 'common' point of view for both listener and speaker. He (speaker) is therefore egocentric; that is, he takes for granted, without being aware of doing so, that his point of view and frame of reference are the only possible ones. At times, this assumption may be valid, at other times, not so.

(Greenfield 1972:170)

Explaining why contextuality should characterize the use of oral languages more so than that of written, she says:

First, in oral culture, communication is invariably face to face. Second, oral languages generally do not spread as far as written languages and are therefore shared by a smaller group.

(Greenfield 1972:170)

On the other side, speech based on written language, must be relatively independent of context as:

Written cultures usually cover larger geographic areas and therefore encompass more heterogeneous people. Consequently, the assumption of a common frame of reference will often be invalid even where contact is face to face.

(Greenfield 1972:170)

Malinowski (1930) long ago observed that written material is necessarily more abstract than oral speech. Vygotsky (1961) noted a different sort of intrinsic abstractness in the written word by pointing out that the spoken word stands for something, while the written word stands for something that stands for something. Thus, *ipso facto*, it presents a new and higher level of abstraction.

Greenfield (1972), Malinowski (1930) and Vygotsky (1961) clearly show that context-dependent forms of speech and thought are more primitive or basic than context-free ones. The habits of speech and thought associated with an oral culture exist along with context-independent ones and, ideally, can be used interchangeably as situational demands require. While highly industrialised, literate societies tend to try abstraction, meaningful human communication depends upon maintaining this flexibility of language use, just as economic survival in such a society depends upon the development of abstract, context-free skills (Greenfield 1972).

Concerning the structure of the spoken and the written word in the new oralism, McLuhan (1964, 1969) pointed out that the spoken word was the first technology by which man was able to let go of his environment in order to grasp it in a new way. It helps to appreciate the nature of the spoken word to contrast it with the written form. The written word spells out in sequence what is quick and implicit in

the spoken word. Electric technology seems to favour the inclusive and participational spoken word over the specialist written word. Western values, built on the written word, have already been considerably affected by the electric media of telephone, radio and television.

In the study of this dichotomy, McLuhan explains that the widely separate characters of the spoken word and written words are easy to study today when there is an ever closer touch with non-literate societies.

He concludes that speech structures the abyss of mental and acoustic space; 'it is a cosmic, invisible architecture of the human dark; and writing turned a spotlight on the high, dim Sierra of speech; writing was the visualisation of acoustic space' (McLuhan 1972).

The spoken word is more emotional than the written word; since we tend to react to each situation that occurs, even to our own act of speaking. Writing tends to be a kind of specialist action in which there is little opportunity or call for reaction. So, the spoken word carries the emotion as well as meaning.

Goody (1982, 1989) recorded his observations among the African society of LoDagaa and analysed them. He discusses how the introduction of literacy entails devaluation of

knowledge not associated with books. Together with Watt (1963), he suggests that oral tradition is associated with the family and ingroup, while literate tradition is learned and passed on in the decontextualised setting of the school.

Walter Ong (1982,1978a,1978b) analyses the effects of writing on the personality, thought and social structures of people. He describes and contrasts the traditional oral approach and the literate approach to the world. He observes that in oral tradition, thought is 'exquisitely elaborate' through a stitching together of formulaic language which he calls 'rhapsodic'. In literate tradition, thought is analytic, sequential, linear. Further, he looks at how the oral/spoken word got technologised in the mechanized culture. He maintains that writing initiated what print and computers only continue, separation of the word from the present, where spoken words can exist alone.

Ong sees the spoken word as something that happens, an event in the world of sound as free moving, whereas writing 'retains' words. It is a record. It holds words so that they do not escape.

One of the central claims Ong and Havelock make in their formulation of orality-literacy hypothesis is that the

primary oral mentality is characterised by concrete thinking, while the literate mind is characterised by abstract thinking.

Ellul (1948, 1970, 1972, 1985) is also one of the scholars who looked at both the written and the spoken word, though in a theological perspective. His works can be summed up in his words: 'Anyone wishing to save humanity today must first of all save the word'. In *The humiliation of the word*, Ellul (1972) devotes a section to the 'death of the word', in which he examines briefly the phenomenon he calls 'the disintegration of language', the disassociation of the word from the person speaking it.

'The spoken word puts the web in motion so that waves sweep through it and cause lights to flicker'; whereas the 'written word is continually repeated and always identical; this is not possible for the true word(Ellul 1985:42).'

The word is no longer itself, but has become another world. The word when written becomes a means of abstract, solemn discussion. His conclusion is that:

The word is not itself either. Once it is written, it no longer has the sting of truth it had when said by another person ... writing changes hearing into sight, and transforms the understanding of a person, with his words halo of mystery and echoes, into the understanding of a text.

(Ellul 1985:45)

Language is thus reduced by being written down.

McLuhan(1970) is right when he speaks of a return to a

world of myth through television, radio and telephone. These cause writing to lose its rigour, or the implacable quality it gives to the development of thought.

All scholars whose work I have cited point out that the literate tradition does not replace the oral. Rather, when literacy is introduced, the two are superimposed and intertwined. Similarly, no individual is either 'oral' or 'literate'. Rather, people use devices associated with both oral and literary traditions in various settings, as the announcers' expressions will show.

In considering [the history of] the spoken and the written word, it comes out clearly that the aural sense is becoming dominant again. The word is devalued by the very conditions in which it is spoken in our era. Writing has placed the word in an ambiguous and defensive position.

Radio as new technology created a new environment of communication which makes the old one into a hi-fi archetype (McLuhan 1969) through a word. Radio led to the increase of oral preference in communication.

The electronic development of our age has gone both ways, enhancing both written and oral aspects of communication. Ong (1987:7) concludes that:

... the electronic age has maximised both orality and the effects of writing and print. This age of

secondary orality has maximized oral utterance through the telephone, radio and the television in ways unknown to oral peoples, and yet at the same time has maximized the analytic, linear processing of thought and expression which writing initiated to a print unimaginable ...

1.3. STYLE

1.3.1. Introduction

1.3.1.1. Introductory perspective

This study is basically interested in stylistic creations in broadcasting and will look in depth at various styles/expressions from different announcers in different black services of the SABC. Firstly, the style is defined, thereafter, the style in broadcasting is discussed.

1.3.1.2. Style defined

Style is one of those terms which are not readily amenable to formal definitions.

According to Rosen:

The concept of a style can only have a purely pragmatic definition, and it can at times be so fluid and imprecise as to be useless.
(Rosen 1971:20)

Further:

A style may be described figuratively as a way of exploiting and focussing a language, which then

becomes a dialect or language in its own right, and it is this focus which makes possible what might be called the personal style or manner of the artist.
(Rosen 1971:20)

Stephen (1957) defines style as:

The term originally was a metaphor. Almost every book on style begins with a reference to its metaphorical etymology. It comes from the Latin stilus, the name of the writing rod, and it is only by metaphor that it came to be applied to other activities.
(Stephen 1957:26)

Kroeber (1957:3) commenting on style says:

Style is characteristics, it is distinctive, it refers to manner or mode. A man's style was his characteristics, idiosyncratic manner of writing: possibly at first with emphasis on the shapes of his letters, his handwriting, certainly later reference rather to his choice and combination of words. It was always an individual's style in the beginning - a sense which the word still includes, though it has acquired also a social sense.

It is worth noting that style depends on examining the circumstances of language, the situations in which it is used.

Variations in style are measured against variations in setting, and where the two appear to be interdependent, style is to that extent explained. In this view style is not a matter of free unfettered choice, but it is at least partly controlled by setting.

(Turner 1973:26)

Charles Bally, one of the founding fathers of modern stylistics, defined it as the study of the affective elements in language - these affective elements being

conceived as optional additions to an already determinate meaning (Bally 1951:19).

Bally (1951) is virtually the inventor of the term 'stylistics' he does not mean by it the study of literary style. At the base of Bally's thought is the idea of language in the service of life, language as a function of life, soaked in human affections, mingled with human strivings, existing only to fulfil the purpose of life itself. 'Stylistics' is the study of expressive effects and mechanisms in all language - *la langue de tout le monde*.

Bally's stylistics studies are converted into the stuff of living human utterance. His method is to consider all these living characters of language as deviations from a norm. At first, Bally used the word 'effective' to describe such deviations, but this proved too narrow and later he talked of 'effective and expressive' characteristics.

According to him, certain modes of expression suggest a certain social milieu - popular, refined, learned, provincial or what not. Bally calls such effects *faits d'évocation*.

His argument is that there is an impassable gulf between the use of language by an individual in the

common, general circumstances imposed on a whole linguistic group, and the use made of it by a poet, a novelist or an orator. When the speaker is placed in the same conditions as all other members of the group, there exists, by reason of this very fact, a norm by which one can measure the deviations of individual expression. For the *littérateur*, the conditions are quite different: he makes a voluntary and conscious use of language, and above all he uses language with an aesthetic intention; he strives to create beauty with words, as a painter does with colours or a musician with sound.

Present day stylistics are divided into two large schools: traditional stylistics, originating with Bally, and a new stylistics, which is derived from Prague Structuralism by way of Jakobson(1970). Both define style as the specific form of the text, but the first group (Bally school) looks for a source for its definition in a study of the stylistic properties of the code, while the second (Jakobson) looks for it in a description of the internal structures of the message.

Kroeber (1957) and Turner (1973) explain style with reference to language. It must be remembered that the language may be written or spoken. We must be able to

note whether, even when style is applied to written language, the term continues to designate a characteristic possible in speech, in the rhetorical situation.

Gray Bennison explains that:

... when style is applied to literature, it can be applied only by conceiving of a literary work as an act of speaking, that is, by conceiving of it as something other than what it is.

(Gray Bennison 1969:12)

Anderson, Nicholson and Booth (1964) consider language to be a basic ingredient of the speaker's style. In fact, according to them, all that you do verbally and non-verbally when communicating is part of your style. Style to them, is the whole man communicating.

Hendricks says: 'Style is a matter of the 'use' of the language system' (Hendrick 1976:26)

It must be noted here that Hendricks does not mean by 'use' the same as 'performance' or 'parole'. He means the language system in writing.

From the definitions above, it is clear that in its most general interpretation, the word style has a fairly controversial meaning.

This shifted to the present, where studies of special kinds of imagery, special choices of vocabulary, special syntactic usages, all came under 'style' (vide Hough 1969, Turner 1973, Ullman 1973).

Certain scholars (Ullmann 1973, Gray 1969 and Beardsley 1958), consider diction and syntax as basic elements of style. Hough (1969) considers word-order, repetition, rhythm, metaphor and symbol as stylistic devices. Again, Hough (1969) and Turner (1973) maintain that one important approach to the study of style is based on meaning:

Style is a part of meaning, but a part which can properly and reasonably be discussed on its own.
(Hough 1969:8)

and:

... the study of style is based on an analysis of meaning into its 'denotative' and 'connotative' elements.

(Turner 1973:27)

Abrahams (1984) talks of diction as the basic element of style. By 'diction' he refers to choice of words in a work, its sentence structure and syntax, the density and types of its figurative language, patterns of rhythm, component sounds, and other formula and its rhetorical aims and devices.

The black announcers' stylistic creations will show that basic elements of style consist of : word-order, repetition, rhythm, metaphor and symbol, and it is more of artistic deviation than common speech.

The approaches of Turner (1973), Ullmann (1973) and Lyons (1977) will make our study easy in that we will look closely at style as 'expressive' and 'evocative' values of the word (Ullmann 1977), as well as 'form' and 'matter' (Turner 1973). Lyons' (1977) argument on the speaker's social role and status will be of great importance in that announcers involved in this study have different social status' in their respective societies and are coming from different areas which influences their social status.

Their stylistic creations must have some special if not specific meaning attached to them, which is interpreted by their listeners or fans.

1.3.2.3. Style in broadcasting

It has been mentioned above that in the radio we are dealing with a new, totally different oralism; the oracle of the electronic age, the orality of the new communication. We are in the age where modern man is extremely word-conscious (Ullmann 1973:2) in whatever he is doing. Hence, the word "style" has also spread to other media of communication.

Kroeber emphasizes that:

The denotation of the word style has spread from literature to all other arts ...
(Kroeber 1957:3)

also:

In its most interpretative form, the word 'style' has a fairly uncontroversial meaning; it refers to the way in which language is used in a given context, by a given person, for a given purpose.
(Leech and Short 1981:10)

There are scholars (Chester, Garrison and Willis 1978 and Crisell 1986) who have noted the so-called style in broadcasting. They explain style in the radio as 'air personalities':

One announcer may have sincere warmth and vitality and seem like an interested friend; another may capitalize on a homely approach, talking as one neighbour to another over the back fence; another may rely on a quite authoritative assurance apparently unruffled by anything or anybody; another has worked out a bouncy, breezy manner. Other approaches are those of soft, professional sympathizer; the circus barker or pitchman; the staccato, human machine gun; and the naive 'its-simply-wonderful' style.
(Chester et al 1978:291)

Each announcer has to determine his particular style best suited to him, and:

An added responsibility of a station-staff announcer is to develop a multiplicity of style or approaches according to the various programs handled.

(Chester et al 1978:291)

Here, Chester et al are talking about the flexibility which is expected from an announcer. But style differs according to programmes. An announcer may not be serious or sincere in the popular music show where s/he is expected to be jocular and familiar. Programmes like classical music need an authoritative and dignified style.

Musical programmes enjoy the greatest popularity - probably a reflection of the free use of individual oral style that is more limited in sermons, documentaries and news reading

Crisell (1968) is another scholar who has noted and commented on style in broadcasting. Working on style since the beginning of 'wireless' up to the present day, where some audiences tended to encourage a somewhat declamatory style of delivery, he comments that:

The change in broadcasting styles which has occurred over the year is illuminating.

(Crisell 1986:13)

Be that as it may, Chester et al's and Crisell's comments and explanations on style are on the manner of delivery rather than the introduction of some fashions in language during broadcasting, such as those examined in this thesis.

In this study , 'Style' will refer to the relationship that the speaker/announcer sets up between himself and the listener - in particular, the communication role that he adopts, namely, use of particular forms or particular grammatical constructions within a language.

There are three 'words' or 'phrases' which may be the key to 'style' in this study. Firstly, it is 'language used in context'; secondly, 'a given context'; and lastly, 'a given purpose'. With reference to style in broadcasting, the first phrase may refer to both written and spoken language in the context of the radio, the second phrase may refer to the announcer in his particular situation, and the latter refer to the purpose of broadcasting.

1.4. BROADCASTING IN SOUTH AFRICA

1.4.1 Broadcasting and Radio defined.

In this study, broadcasting will mean only 'radio' communication, which must not be confused with the 'two-way-radio' which took place within an expanding system of trade between the metropolises and the peripheries in the colonial period (Williams (1974) in Tomaselli et al (1989:82).

Hayman and Tomaselli (1989:56), explaining how information was disseminated on market, prices, product in those old colonial days, say:

radio could use some of the existing components of cable telephony and telegraphy; in many cases, radio systems were developed by the same companies who operated the older systems.

Radio changed the whole 'broadcasting' sphere from being merely a dissemination of existing cultural forms outside broadcasting, to a generator of culture itself (Tomaselli et al 1989:97). Because of this, radio had to develop as a medium with its own characteristics in the society. In the South African context, for example, the radio had to make it a point that:

The Bantu child is, in accordance with Bantu culture, satisfied with what 'is' and he must be led by the traditional Bantu adult to arrive at 'what should be', according to the western norms. The Bantu adult, however, finds; himself in almost the same situation as the child ; he is satisfied with what he has and is not really worried about what 'should be'

(Strydom in Tomaselli et al 1989:98)

Comparing black orientated radio and white¹ orientated radio, blacks in South Africa are forced to accept what is offered. Even today (where the SABC has restructured its radio and television e.g. CCV-TV) English, Afrikaans and commercial services most of their programmes have a well camouflaged ideological agenda focusing on white petit-bourgeois interest, whereas black orientated services are still presently promoting a coherent apartheid - based reality which underlines the importance of ethnic values. Broadcasting and radio in South Africa is still based on State or government divide-and-rule policy (Vide 1.4.2). For example even in 1993, Radio Zulu was still 'for' the Zulus and all staff had to be Zulus, similarly, Radio SeSotho is 'for' the Sotho speaking people; and the same rule was applicable to all black orientated services.

1.4.1.2. Radio and its characteristics

Radio, with its unique ability to entertain and inform individuals while they are engaged in some other activity,

¹White orientated services are services which broadcast in English and Afrikaans which emanated from the struggle for power between the English and Afrikaans speaking people, who have in recent history, constituted the hegemonic alliance. These services were used as the tool of a power, particularly after 1948 when the Nationalist government came to power. (Hachten and Giffard 1984; Tomaselli et al 1989)

has dominated all leisure time activity. Besides this, radio has become a singularly powerful media to do good or evil in society. It has been viewed as the most 'terrible weapon' in the hands of those who know how to make use of it. For example, in 1933, when the NAZI Party came to power in Germany, Adolf Hitler (when radio was a novelty in Germany) explained radio, in *Mein Kampf*, as a terrible weapon in the hands of the those who know how to make use of it (Hale 1975).

Crisell (1986) refers to radio as a 'blind medium' or 'secondary medium'. Explaining this, he says we 'cannot see its messages, they exist only of noise and silence' (Crisell 1986:3).

Callaghan (1977) refers to radio, as well as media in general, as a 'mirror held up to society'. His argument is that it reflects all the norms and values of the society. Radio programme offerings reflect the desires and values of the society.

Ong (1982) refers to radio as 'secondary medium' since it falls under 'secondary orality' of televisions, telephones, and computers which depend on writing and print for their existence.

Radio is the only "unstoppable" medium of mass communication. That is why it is so differently defined.

It is a special kind of medium. Hale (1975) has clearly argued that radio can also appeal to the emotions and, moreover, it is a potent revolutionary force.

Eugene Hadamowski, Chief of German Radio, wrote in his autobiography:

We spell radio with three exclamation marks because we are possessed in it of a miraculous power - the strongest weapon ever given to the spirit - that opens hearts and does not stop at the borders of cities and does not turn back before closed doors; that jumps rivers, mountains and seas; that is able to force peoples under the spell of one powerful spirit.

(Quoted from Hale 1975:1)

Paul de Maaesenner (1991), in his work : *Here's the News: A Radio News Manual* (Unesco), cites five points on radio as the most advantaged medium, namely:

1. Radio is the fastest means of disseminating news
2. Radio can be received in areas without electricity
3. Production of radio programmes is cheap
4. Radio has the potential for being the most immediate, intimate and accessible medium
5. Illiteracy is not a barrier to radio usage

(Maaesenner 1991:5)

The biggest question is: 'How is radio distinguishable from these other modes of mass communication?'

Crisell writes:

[Radio's] codes are purely auditory, consisting of speech, music, sound and silence, and since - as we shall see - the ear is not the most 'intelligent' of our sense organs, their deployment has to be relatively simple.

(Crisell 1986:5)

McWhinnie believes that the word is the basic

characteristic of radio:

In radio, the spoken word is in close focus; devalued elsewhere, it can attain here a new impact and subtle.

(McWhinnie 1959:48)

Radio, for McWhinnie, at its best is a private experience.

He gives three kinds of radio experiences, namely:

1. Its first and fundamental level is that of simple communication : to convey news, information and facts.
2. It acts as a substitute, bringing the listener to participate by proxy in an event which he cannot attend in the flesh.
3. artistic expression.

(McWhinnie 1959:12-15)

He concludes that:

Radio must, of its nature, use words in the most compressed, condensed way. The word cannot be subsidiary, it must earn its place.

(McWhinnie (1959:56)

McIntyre supporting this, says:

Words are to radio what pictures are to television - the basic raw material. They describe situations and express thoughts, they stir our emotions and touch our imagination.

(McIntyre 1976:48)

Frederikse and Pinnock (1991), in a recent article on 'Radio as a real voice in rural wilderness', have a very good conclusion on what gives radio a thrilling possibility. Its captivating character, a character that makes it the best medium for direct community¹ involvement, is that:

... while the bulk of television fare is prerecorded, on radio most of what you hear is live. There is a palpable element of human contact between you and the voices in the boom-box. Radio happens in real-time : while you are drinking tea in the morning, while you are jiving in the evening, in the minibus, on the street. Radio does not force you into the passivity demanded by video; it fits into your life.

(Frederikse and Pinnock 1991:3)

More than the 'words', the radio needs the 'disc jockey or the announcer' with the 'mike' (microphone) as the disc jockey's pen and paper. The disc jockey's audience and their knowledge of the daily events of the world provide his characters, his scenes, and moods (McLuhan 1964:303).

¹The term recognises the heterogeneity of place, district, or country, considered as a whole and allows for that heterogeneity to be understood in terms of power relations. It may also refer to a group of people living together and subject to some laws in the same place sharing something in common such as vocations.

The announcer or disc jockey in the radio, creates the interface between music and sound or speech. Radio announcers describe events not personally seen by their audiences as in television. In short, on radio the announcer is the clarifying link between the audience and otherwise incomprehensible sound, noise or silence. On radio as well as television, the announcer is the presenter, the communicator, and the interpreter (Hyde 1983:3).

Though radio is a medium of oral communication like television, its difference is that its words can never be distinguished from the presence of the speaker.

1.4.1.3. Radio as medium and its early years in South Africa

This study is concerned with 'oral communication' which includes several divisions of study such as public address, interpretation, radio and television, speech correction and acting (Capp and Capp 1976). All these divisions are sub-components of broadcasting.

Wentworth defines broadcasting as:

The branch of communication concerned with dissemination of messages by electronic techniques from a few sources to many destinations.
(Wentworth 1973:23)

Though this definition is sufficiently broad to include audio and video recordings, as well as radio and

television, the word 'communication' does not make it more specific. It makes the definition accommodate all other methods of communication. The phrase 'by electronic techniques' has been inserted to exclude consideration of ink-on-paper publishing or writing.

Chester et al in his discussion of broadcasting, defines broadcasting as:

the transmission through space, by means of radio frequencies, of signals capable of being received either aurally or visually or both by the general public.

(Chester et al 1978:03)

The phrase 'aural or visual' causes Chester et al's definition to be more directed to radio and television.

Orlik (1970) has attempted to outline the early years and developments of radio in South Africa:

It appears as though Briton-Boer antagonism has been an integral part of South African broadcasting from the very beginning when the boers imported German wireless telegraphy sets for use in their war against the British.

(Orlik 1970:60)

Following the restoration of peace and the level of wireless development in England and the United States, radio took root in South Africa in 1904 with the introduction of a wireless facility at the Royal Navy's Simonstown base.

The Natal Colonial government laid plans for the erection of a transmitting station at Jacobs, near Durban. The station was made operational in 1910 (Rosenthal 1961). In daylight, Jacobs could communicate with ships up to 250 miles away and by 1911, Germany was laying plans for a powerful wireless station at Windhoek, but this, as well as South African wireless development, was disrupted by World War 1 (Orlik 1970).

With the end of the War, came not only the expansion of wireless telegraphy but also the start of wireless telephony in South Africa. In 1921, the first actual station for wireless telephony was put into operation near Port Elizabeth. By the end of 1921, wireless telephony, now known as 'radio', was pushing wireless telegraphy completely out of the public limelight. With increased public interest came governmental action. The South African government issued regulations for the new medium in August 1923. The Postmaster-General was given the power to grant licences for the establishment of radio transmitters as well as for the installation of receiving sets by private listeners.

The first experimental broadcast was undertaken in Johannesburg in 18 December 1923 by the Western Electric Company. On 29 December 1923, the first radio broadcast was made from Johannesburg. In July 1924, the Scientific and Technical Association of South Africa in Johannesburg

took over broadcasting in Johannesburg. This company began its regular broadcast in the Johannesburg area on 1 July 1924.

Tracing the further development of broadcasting in South Africa, Hayman and Tomaselli (1989) says this can be dealt with in four periods, namely:

1. 1924-1936: from the establishment of the first independent local commercial stations until the creation of the SABC as a 'public institution' by act of Parliament;
2. 1936-1948: from the establishment of the SABC until the coming to power of the Nationalist government. Under the Smuts government, the SABC attempted to establish a technical equality between the two white programmes;
3. 1948-1959: post-war under the Nationalist government, to the year in which Dr P J Meyer, Chairman of the Broederbond, became chairman of the Board of Control of the SABC. A commercial channel was introduced, with the intention, among other things, of financing technical parity between the original two white non-commercial channels;
4. 1960-1971: the period of transformation under Meyer, when the SABC grew enormously with the introduction of the VHF/FM systems.

The highlights within the above periodisation are:

1. 18 December 1923: First experimental broadcast by the Western Electric Company.
2. 29 December 1923: First radio broadcast in South Africa by SAS in Johannesburg.
3. 1 July 1924: Scientific and Technical Club in Johannesburg took over broadcast in Johannesburg.
4. 15 September 1924: Cape and Peninsula Broadcasting Association started broadcasting in the Peninsula.
5. December 1924: The same Association started in Durban with its broadcast (Durban Corporation was licensed).
6. 1 April 1927: The Schlesinger-organisation started the African Broadcasting Company and obtained a license to broadcast.
7. 1936: SABC came into existence (under Act No 22 of 1936) and had to broadcast also in Afrikaans in 1937.
8. 1 May 1950: Springbok Radio came into existence.
9. 1952: Orlando Rediffusion, a local subsidiary of the British Rediffusion Company, which intended extending the service to all black townships, came into being. It included three main black languages, Xhosa, Zulu and Sotho.
10. 1960: Radio Bantu broadcasting six hours a day (one and a half hours each in four different languages).

11. 1962: 1 January the very first FM services began broadcasting. There was the Afrikaans and English Services, Springbok Radio and Services in South Sotho and Zulu. Six months later, programmes in Pedi and Tswana followed.
12. 1964: First regional service broadcasting came into existence (Radio Highveld).
13. 1965: Radio Good Hope came into existence.
14. 1 May 1966: Radio RSA (external radio), the short wave external radio service, was established.
15. 1 May 1967: Radio Port Natal was born.
16. 1969: Radio Broadcast in black languages was extended to SWA.
17. 13 October 1975: Radio 5, which was LM Radio before, came into existence.
18. 8 January 1983: Radio Lotus for the Indian community was established.
19. 1 January 1986: Three white regional services were established, namely, Radio Jacaranda, Radio Algoa, and Radio Oranje.
20. 1 September 1986: A metropolitan station, Radio Metro, was established in Johannesburg.

This development of broadcasting in South Africa will be of great help in the depth outline of the history of our individual Nguni/Sotho services.

1.4.2. Radio Broadcasting in South Africa of the 80's.

Although the aim of this study is to look at the stylistic creations in black orientated broadcasting, it is appropriate that we consider Radio broadcasting and language policy of the National Party in South Africa. The purpose is to see and understand how broadcasting was formed, and how the establishment of black orientated services emerged as a response to apartheid under the National Party government.

Black orientated services were established as subordinates of the white orientated services. Because of the political system in South Africa, the strong implementation of apartheid and tribalism, black orientated services were established to broadcast in separate channels to the various black 'nations' identified by the government. This was done on the background of apartheid policy which stresses not only the separation of white and blacks, but also ethnic differences within the black community itself, hoping by this means to divide-and-rule (Tomaselli and Tomaselli 1989:95). Furthermore, in South Africa, language is associated with racial dominance. An individual is more likely to be drawn into the broadcasting audience if addressed by the announcer in the mother tongue. This must be seen and be understood against the language policy of the National Party in South Africa. The SABC (operating under the South African Government - Nationalist Party policy) under apartheid, wanted to tribalise and actively

encourage separate languages to guarantee the apartheid state. English, for instance, is presently taken as both the national and business language, whereas black languages (Zulu, Swazi, Xhosa, Ndebele, Sotho, Tswana, Pedi, Venda, and Tsonga) have to do with " geo-political divide-and-rule needs of apartheid than with the linguistic criteria " (Louw 1992:52). Since whites constituted a minority of South African population, " the most effective way to rule was to prevent the 75% black - population from cohering into a unified group" (Louw 1990:52). The NP government, in order to enforce their apartheid policy, created political tribal homelands each tied to a separate black 'nation' with their 'own' language. These are Transkei, and Ciskei with Xhosa as the national language; Kwa-Zulu with Zulu as the national language; Bophuthatswana (Tswana); Lebowa (Northern Sotho); Qwaqwa (South Sotho); Venda (Venda); Gazankulu (Tsonga); Ka-Ngwane (Swazi); and Kwa - Ndebele (Ndebele).

In 1972, the SABC reported that the increase of homeland developments laid upon Radio Bantu the particular important duty of providing information about the obligation and responsibilities that self-rule would involve (Tomaselli and Tomaselli 1989:95). Radio Bantu had to be seen as the vehicle of apartheid. Commenting about this Tomaselli and Tomaselli et al (1985:96) says:

Most of the content of Radio Bantu is aimed at the maintenance and, in fact the renaissance and

redefinition of traditional tribal values and social institutions, especially in the homelands. This has a second dimension in that, by strengthening affiliations to tribal authorities, the State is able to exert control in a disguise manner. Tribal chiefs are paid functionaries of the State and are thereby incorporated into the State, while seemingly representing 'genuine' tribal values.

The implicit and explicit values of Radio Bantu can be easily understood if we briefly look at the language policy of the SABC. There have been many arguments concerning language policy in South Africa (e.g. Nhlapho 1940, Alexander 1989, Louw 1989, Louw 1992).

Neville Alexander (1989) in his book: Language Policy and National Unity in South Africa (Buchu books, Cape Town) rejected both the NP apartheid-language groups and the Black Consciousness language policy of having only English as the national language. Alexander proposed one national language which is English and two local languages which are Nguni and Sotho. Alexander based his proposal on Jacobs Nhlapho's 1940's work on language in which Nhlapho argued that Nguni and Sotho are the only two main language clusters in South Africa.

Eric Louw of the Centre for Cultural Media Studies at the University of Natal has come up with his argument. Louw (1989, 1992) argues that the language policy the South Africans will ultimately opt for remains to be decided in

the course of the transition to a post - apartheid democratic society.

Louw (1992) presents four main proposals which are in the running: firstly, laissez faire which is an absolute hands off approach, treating all languages as equal; the second proposal is the reinforcing of the existing national languages, in which we continue with the apartheid era the NP actively created; thirdly, accepting the BC thinkers proposal of imposing English as one 'National Language'; and lastly a modification of the Alexander - Nhlapho option of having English as the national language, and Nguni and Sotho as the main regional languages.

Eric Louw's (1992) argument is that it is possible to promote a single unifying national message from four languages like Nguni, Sotho, Afrikaans and English in South Africa (e.g. CCV-TV under the present SABC). By using these languages, it will be easy to give one the best of all worlds by:

1. Encouraging a single nationalism - without substituting the chauvinism of any one language;
 2. Promoting the standardised languages identified in the national language policy;
 3. Promoting a single 'South African' nationalism in languages that are familiar.
- (Eric Louw 1992:56)

Louw (1990:58) argues for the modification of Alexander - Nhlapho's option. His modification is of having three

regional languages: Nguni, Sotho and Afrikaans. According to him, the advantage of having one national language and three regional languages is:

- (i) efficient state (and business) administration;
- (ii) facilitation of the de-apartheidisation of language;
- (iii) (but) still allowing for a recognition of the de facto linguistic diversity in the country in a way that merges seven languages into two.

The Contemporary Cultural Values-Television channel (CCV-TV)¹ under the SABC is presently trying to follow such practice as given by Louw. The SABC's aim with such a practice is to try and accomodate all levels of audience in South Africa. CCV-TV broadcasts in both Nguni and Sotho and later at night switches to English and Afrikaans languages. Radio has not yet practiced such use of languages except Radio Xhosa which uses both Xhosa and English in their late night slot called: Radio Xhosa

12 Down.

1

This is the amalgamation of the three SABC-TV channels namely: TV2/3/4. TV2 was originally broadcasting in Nguni languages (Zulu and Xhosa alternatively, whereas TV3 was broadcasting in Sotho languages (Sotho and Tswana). These two channels were restricted to regions (TV2 for Natal, Cape and Transvaal, TV3 only for the Transvaal and Bloemfontein). TV4 was an extra channel for films and commercials. Unlike TV2/3/4/ CCV-TV focuses on the growing black middle and elite classes domiciled in the 'white' urban areas. It is more sophisticated and too Americanised in its content.

1.4.2.1. Radio Broadcasting and South African society

It has been mentioned earlier that radio (Radio Bantu) in the South African context was meant to promote apartheid. SABC in its promotion of apartheid, has natural allies namely, Department of Education (especially Bantu Education), Language Boards etc. These two bodies have a close association with black orientated services, which broadcast special school programmes on FM receivers supplied by the SABC itself (Tomaselli and Hayman 1989:97).

The Department of Bantu Education, in conjunction with the SABC, aims to make a contribution towards the appreciation, preservation and extension of the Bantu's own language and culture, and instill ethnic and language grouping in the minds of the black from childhood to adulthood. Radio sets had to be bought for schools and separate periods were allocated for the school radio. The government here was actively creating and promoting separate nationalism. They were also institutionalising the eleven languages through school infrastructures (Tomaselli and Hayman 1989:97).

Family ownership of radio sets in the RSA has reached the point of approximately total saturation. The importance of the radio in South African society has been shown by the

number of licenses issued to listeners in the early years
(SABC Annual Reports 1964).

SABC's Annual Report of 1965 shows that the total number of radio licenses issued by 31 December 1965 was 1 368 660 which was 88,67% more than the previous year, and together with the increase in 1962/63, was the second largest increase in any one year.

The same Report indicates that the total number of radio sets in use at the end of the year (1965) was estimated at 2 500 000 and audience figures were estimated at 7 million. The SABC Annual Report in 1989 showed an average of 11,4 million adults tune in daily to the SABC radio services.

The listenership of these services in urban areas increased by 17,6%, whereas there was a decrease of 12,8% in listenership in rural areas. This may be attributed partly to increasing urbanisation. (SABC Annual Report 1989)

A good example of the increase of urban listeners is the Xhosa speaking people in particular, who have contributed to an increase of 40,3% in Radio Xhosa's urban listenership. Both Radio Xhosa and Radio SeSotho already have more urban listeners than rural listeners.

Increases in listenership also happened amongst whites. There was a tremendous increase in radio listeners both in national radio (e.g Radio 5) and community radio¹ (e.g Radio RSA).

The recordings of local artists were broadcast weekly in programmes on the national services. Special attention was given to the talent of high-school pupils, students and school choirs in order to involve the community. Studio concerts, some of which were broadcast live, were presented in the regions in co-operation with Radio marketing of the SABC.

As in some countries in Africa (for example, Egypt, Israel, Ghana) radio in the South African context has been used as a medium, both for the propagandist and the propagandised (Hale 1975, Switzer 1985). The radio set is the accepted source of news and opinion. Radio meant that people in the most remote villages (especially among blacks) began to hear of what was happening everywhere and to form their own opinion. The South African government also made use of radio to address the outside world about their policies.

The Nguni/Sotho radio group, which serves the black population by means of nine black orientated services including the newly formed metropolitan station, Radio Metro, concentrated unflaggingly on satisfying the

1

Community broadcasting, is broadcasting where management is democratised and accountable to staff and volunteers, and ultimately to a board drawn from the community. It is based on active community involvement in all spheres of the operation of a radio station. Radio Zulu is attempting to exercise this but only in theory.

divergent educational, informational and entertainment needs in a heterogeneous cultural context.

Radio as culture is a crucial part of the social dynamics by which the social structure maintains itself in a constant process of production and reproduction; meanings, popular pleasures and their circulation are, therefore, part and parcel of this social structure (Fiske 1987).

1.4.2.2. Radio Broadcasting and culture in South Africa

Radio is, above all else, a popular cultural medium.

Explaining this Fiske says:

The economics that determine its production and distribution demand that [radio] reaches a mass audience, and a mass audience in western industrialised societies is composed of numerous subcultures, or subaudiences, with a wide variety of social relations, a variety of sociocultural experience and, therefore, a variety of discourses that they will bring to bear upon the programme in order to understand and enjoy it. For its own purposes, radio attempts to homogenize this variety so that the one programme can reach as many different audiences as possible.

(Fiske 1987:37)

In the black orientated services the vitality of the cultures is clearly seen in the music these stations play. Music is indigenously produced by ordinary folks whose lyrics are centered around many different poetic linguistic expressions from announcers or from the community, where even those announcers poetic expressions are from this popular culture. In popularizing various types of recorded music, such as Western, rock, and other contemporary music styles, radio has had enormous effects on the youth culture of the country (Vide Chapter 5).

When Radio Bantu was established, it was maintained that one of the basic functions it must fulfil, is to mediate a coherent apartheid-based reality which underlines the importance of ethnic values through a linguistic system rooted in tribal imagery. As mentioned in 1.4.2.1. the SABC closely works with the Department of Education and

Language Boards. The station tries its level best to ensure that all programmes are linguistically pure. Music lyrics are to be screened by Record screening Committee¹ to ensure a 'moral' content and language used be perfect. Even in 1993 black orientated programmes are still conservatively and cultural in the apartheid sense (i.e. the content of some of their programmes is still ethnic and emphasises cultural identity). This is what Raubenheimer (1990) maintained: that culture must be taken into consideration when democratizing the radio in the South African context.

Presently, all black services are still having programmes which ~~lay~~ lay great emphasis on traditional customs and rituals. This means that radio is able to play in industrial societies a similar role to that played by folk culture in more homogeneous ones. The meanings made from the radio are readily incorporated into the cultural lives of various social formations in such a

1

The SABC to guarantee "moral, pure language" and secure the States'apartheid policy in its broadcast, appoints teachers who are members of the Language Boards, to assist their permanent staff in the listening of music lyrics produced by both local and international artists. Such a committee meets once or twice a month. All black orientated services have such committees specially meant to screen all records before they get played on air.

way that they work as folk culture. But this statement is dependant on the language policy that the SABC might opt for in future.

Much of the current debate about the future of broadcasting in South Africa is rightly centred on the problem of ensuring freedom of the air-waves and maintaining the independence of the broadcast media (Louw 1993). This is dependant on the acceptance of one or two national language(s). The complexity of the South African cultural landscape ultimately poses a problem to the integrating, centralising and unifying roles of the country. The task that South Africa faces is the redefinition of the national culture through unifying the country by having one national language and making the SABC play an effective role in creating a unified South Africa. This can be achieved by having one national language and a fusion of two or three regional languages. It is suprising that SABC, in restructuring black orientated services into different business units (vide 2.1.2.2.), still maintains the divide-and-rule policy.

It is a fact which must be understood that the announcers with their various stylistic creations are minimally censored since most of their styles are more for entertainment and do not threaten SABC'S reconstructed ethnic language purity or structure. The situation is presently (in a way), more relaxed than it was when black orientated services were introduced in the past years.

Tomaselli and Hayman (1989:10) concludes that when broadcasting was introduced in South Africa:

Broadcasting changed from being merely a disseminator of existing cultural forms outside broadcasting, to a generator of culture itself. The situation has now been reached in urban areas where broadcasting itself is the most powerful source of culture.

Radio, to be popular, must not only contain meanings relevant to a wide variety of social groups, it must also be capable of being listened to with different modes of attention. It is essentially both the oral traditional and modern poetic forms of radio that allow it to be embedded so firmly in the social-cultural life of its listeners and that enables such an active, participatory, selective set of listening relations.

There is no doubt that vernacular radio has a permanent place in our national life; it has by far the largest audience of any medium. Though "a basic English" channel might be considered (for example Radio Metro), we first ought to address the needs of the audience such as provision of the relevant programmes that will address the diverse population profile which has significant cultural differences and levels of sophistication.

Radio Metro has been established with a wide variety of Music tastes, but black listeners are still hooked into

their vernacular stations. Radio Metro maintains to be a station broadcasting on a national base, in one language (English) to an audience whose mother tongue is different from the language used by this station. Radio Metro attracted listeners from different races, creeds, languages, cultures and levels of sophistication: but it has never exceeded the listenership audience of Radio Sesotho and Radio Zulu to mention but a few. The inclusion of Radio Metro under black orientated services (then Radio Bantu) is to facilitate the task of inducing the majority of black South Africans to accept their 'homeland' status aid to view it as independence and development, while at the same time socialising a smaller cadre of the urban population into a work ethic through programmes stressing "the serious need for trained manpower" (Tomaselli and Tomaselli 1989:100). That is why the SABC made Radio Metro broadcasts in English, the language which is though to be an international language needed to communicate with the outside world. (Note Radio Metro listenership audience stretches from the Cape to Zimbabwe.)

The popularity of the 'Phone-in-programmes' in black orientated services seems to give a direction of what the future will be like in as far as language policy is concerned in South Africa. In radio SeSotho especially it has become fashionable to hear the listener phoning and using his/her mother tongue either Tswana, Pedi or Venda, as these are very much related. In Radio Metro (which uses

English), if the listener on the way fails to express him/herself effectively he quickly switches to his mother tongue either Sotho or Zulu. Such occurrences indicate that radio can guide us on how the future in broadcasting and language policy will be.

The apartheid language policy, of using one's vernacular, has made black announcers create more styles freely and this has made them and their services popular. Their vernacular usage has also brought their own tribes' lost oral traditions, for example, appreciation of izibongo, imilolozelo and genealogies.

'Culture' and language policy then is still the basic aspect in the present consideration of the future of radio or broadcasting in 'The New South Africa'. Addressing the issue of culture, language and radio in South Africa Louw says:

There is also a need to consider the possible role that modern electronic media can play in creating a unified South Africa with one national and three regional languages. South Africans are moving (have moved?) beyond a culture in which the print media is dominantIt is possible that radio and TV may offer South Africans a number of potential opportunities for developing a unified national culture : what better means exists of promoting the use of a standardised Nguni and Sotho (and/or undoing the effects of apartheid's language tribalism).

(Louw 1992:55)

1.4.3. Conclusion

This section gives in broad outline how radio has been viewed by other scholars. It also clearly shows that the oralism of radio has not been deeply analysed. Most of the studies today have taken a direction towards television as a medium (for example Fiske 1987; Fiske and Hartley 1987; Fiske 1986; Allen 1983; Newcomb (ed) 1982, 1984; Williams 1974).

In a heterogeneous society like South Africa where there are many ethnic groups, the struggle between diverse groups and aggregates over the allocation of resources and power are not limited strictly to economic and political issues, but also extend to cultural ones.

Black orientated services were meant to promote ethnic and tribal differences and also transmit cultural and language content. They are still propagating the same apartheid tribalism, though from a different perspective: for example the new democratic South Africa.

The popular/mass culture critique is endemic to urban-industrial society, and has existed every since daily life became divided into periods of work and free time, particularly among the poor.

(Herbert 1986:14)

In the South African context, black orientated services are all performing the functions of entertaining, informing and beautifying life. Radio, as a cultural agent, is a provoker and circulator of meaning. Radio

'broadcasts programmes that are replete with potential meanings, and ... it attempts to control and focus this meaningfulness into a more singular preferred meaning that performs the work of the dominant ideology' (Fiske 1987:1). Broadcasting in South Africa by the SABC has been a depriving power in the building of black solidarity. Black orientated services, however, remain important to the shaping of ideological perceptions of mainly rural and homeland dwellers.

Black announcers broadcast for people who are members of family, peer and social groups. The announcers themselves are also members of these groups. Therefore their behaviour and ways of talking (styles) will be more influenced by the family, peer and social groups, since 'popular culture continues to be created in the home and community' (Herbert 1986:11). It will be realised in our analysis (Chapter 4) of different announcers stylistic creations that there is either English usage only or the mixture of English and vernacular, and Sotho and Zulu seem to be the most prominent languages. Alexander's language policy proposal seems to be the most feasible in broadcasting of the new South Africa. I foresee a future with English as the national language, Nguni and Sotho as the main regional languages. The rejection of Afrikaans language by black South Africans gives Louw's language policy proposal very little chance of implementation. Even in the announcers' stylistic creations (analyzed in

Chapter 4), very few, if any, use Afrikaans words or mixture of any vernacular languages.

Radio as a medium in the South African context is still serving, if not strongly propagating, the folk/mass culture critique which is an attack by one element in society against another: by the cultured against the uncultured, the educated against the unsophisticated, the more affluent against the less affluent, and the cultural experts against the laity from various races we have in South Africa.

Though the SABC has restructured its radio services and appointed blacks to manage the black orientated services; and the fact that these services are still run on ethnic bases, the SABC has not changed its strategy of encouraging tribalism and separate black "nations" with their own language. In July 1991 Bronwyn Adams of the Sunday Special, in the Sunday Times newspaper supplement wrote that:

The SABC has endorsed the test effort to liberate the TV structure from the structures of apartheid media by appointing the first four black managers to senior positions within the corporation.

(Sunday Times supplement July 28, 1991)

This is pure tokenism and window dressing. Some of these managers have been promoted after 20 years of service whereas their white colleagues were promoted 10 years

before them, and those whites are senior directors already, if not already gone for life pensions.

The announcers' stylistic creations and ideas may diffuse more widely throughout people or society with folk culture (where ethnicism is still existing) and may become more acceptable as well. Also, their listeners' language or culture may be incorporated into their styles.

Black announcers, knowing that they are faced with a heterogeneous audience, must make their stylistic creations appealing to aesthetic standards, and emphasize content that will be meaningful to as many in the audience as possible. To achieve this they make more use of standardised words, formulas, stereotypical phrases (like those found in folk culture) in their expressions which emerge from this folk culture.

CHAPTER TWO

2.1. THE HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENTS OF RADIO IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.1.1. Introductory perspective

In chapter 1 the brief history of broadcasting in South Africa was outlined. The section traced the whole development of broadcasting in South Africa and not broadcasting only in black languages. Here we focus strictly on the history of black broadcasting in South Africa within the SABC and then on the history of black orientated services individually.

2.1.2. Broadcasting in black languages

South Africa has nine black languages which are formally called Bantu languages. Although we need not go deeply into language classification, it is worth mentioning that these Bantu languages were divided according to zones, areas characterized by uniform or similar linguistic phenomena. Within the zones are groups, aggregations of languages possessing common phonetic and grammatical features, and having a high degree of common ground, so that members can, without real difficulty, converse with one another. Thus we have:

1. Nguni, and
2. Sotho languages.

Nguni languages include the following:

1. Zulu
2. Swazi
3. Ndebele.
4. Xhosa

Sotho languages include:

1. Pedi
2. Tswana
3. Sotho
4. Venda
5. Tsonga.

These nine languages have their own dialects, local vernaculars recognised by the native speakers under special names. (See Canonici 1991)

2.1.2.1. BLACK ORIENTATED SERVICES

The first broadcast in black languages in South Africa took place in 1940. Programmes were done in three languages, namely Zulu, Xhosa and Northern Sotho, through a telephone-line. By the end of that year, places like Johannesburg, Natal, Bloemfontein, Cape Town and the

Eastern Cape (Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown and East London) were reached.

Direct broadcasts in Zulu, Xhosa and Northern Sotho began in 1942 where the first 'regional' broadcast took place as an experiment. The SABC was broadcasting on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday mornings between 09h30 and 10h00 in Zulu, Xhosa and Sotho through the MW channel. This system was later altered to become a daily broadcast, during the same times as follows:

In 1947 the Durban studios broadcast in Zulu through the English and Afrikaans MW channels, for Durban and Pietermaritzburg, areas and through English MW for East and West Rand. In 1953 Xhosa programmes were broadcast from Cape Town but in 1955 the station moved to Grahamstown.

Broadcasting directly from Johannesburg, had already started in 1953 in these three languages. The rediffusion, as discussed above, was broadcasting from Johannesburg to Orlando from 06h00 to 21h00. Later it was spread to Jabavu, Dube and Mofolo. Programmes were broadcasting from 06h00 to 08h30, 14h15 to 16h00 and again from 18h00 to 21h00. Three languages were used in turn.

The introduction of Radio Bantu, as it was known on 1 June 1960, led to a decision that broadcasting hours must be

extended. During week days, broadcasting started from 05h30 till 06h30 and on Sundays from 06h30 till 07h30.

This led to the establishment of different black services which were grouped under Nguni/Sotho services.

2.1.2.1.1. SOTHO GROUP

The so-called Sotho group services consist of the following grouped according to the black indigenous languages of South Africa:

1. Radio SeSotho
2. Radio SeTswana
3. Radio Lebowa
4. Radio Venda
5. Radio Tsonga.

Linguistically, the Sotho group is divided into four cluster sections, of which Southern Sotho (from the point of view of literature) is the most important one.

- a) Northern Sotho is confined to the Transvaal, Central, Northern and Eastern districts. According to Doke (1967) the literary form is based almost entirely upon the biggest dialect, Pedi. From the recent research that I did in 1990 where I interviewed different informants, it was revealed that Northern Sotho is a standardised language recognised by the

Northern Sotho Language Board with the following dialects:

- i) Sepedi - spoken in Sekukuneland which is on the other side of the Olifants River
 - ii) Setlokwa/Sekgosese
 - iii) Selobedu - spoken in the Modjadji area
 - iv) Setlhaloga - spoken in Moletji area
and several other smaller dialects. (For example Kgaga, Tlokwa, & Koni)
- b) Southern Sotho, is spoken in Basutoland and the Eastern parts of the Orange Free State. Sometimes it is known as SeSotho sa haMoshoeshoe (Doke 1967).
- c) Tswana is another language with a large number of dialects, spoken in the present Botswana and Bophuthatswana, Western Transvaal and the Western part of the Orange Free State.
- d) The other language under the Sotho group is Venda, spoken in the Northern Transvaal up to and across the Limpopo River into Zimbabwe. As far as Doke (1967) is concerned, this language has practically no distinctive dialectal forms. Canonici (1991) categorises Venda as a group on its own.
- e) The last group is Tsonga which is spoken in Portuguese East Africa from the Zululand border to

the Sabi River and in the North-eastern sector of the Transvaal and there are dialects here like Ronga, Tonga and Tswa (Doke 1967, Canonici 1991 also categorises Tsonga as a group on its own).

2.1.2.1.1.1. RADIO SESOTHO

Radio SeSotho was established in 1940. From 1960, programmes in SeSotho were broadcasting from Johannesburg, through the Afrikaans MW transmitters in the East and West Rand while from K & B programmes were broadcast through the Afrikaans transmitters. In 1962, it started to broaden fully in the FM sound channel.

Radio Bantu reached a special landmark when the network of FM stations for the Bantu services of the SABC were completed with the building of the transmitting stations at Schweizer-Reneke and Thabazimbi (SABC Annual Report 1973). The completion of this network meant that 99.4% of the Black population of South Africa was now within the range of Radio Bantu broadcasts.

The transmitters for the South Sotho service were built at Matatiele and Cala to cater for the Sotho speaking population of the Transkei and the surrounding districts. These developments also implied that from 1 September 1960 no Radio Bantu programmes would be broadcast any longer over any of the MW transmitters of the Afrikaans or English services.

Broadcasting in Southern Sotho covers the following areas:

(i) OFS, (ii) North Eastern Cape as far as Umtata and Port St Johns, (iii) the PWV area including Northern Transvaal and (iv) Western Lesotho.

The listenership of Radio SeSotho increased significantly between 1987 to 1989. In 1987, broadcasting research figures indicate that an average of 10.1 million adults tuned in to Radio SeSotho and it had a 1.067 million listenership. In 1988 this was 1.142 and in 1989 listenership dropped to 1.119. This might have been on account of the television and the competition brought by the other various independent stations, like Radio Bophuthatswana and Radio Thohoyandou.

Presently, within the new SABC, Radio SeSotho is under public services, in Broadcasting Centre, Johannesburg. Radio SeSotho reaches the Witwatersrand, Orange Free State, Western Transvaal and parts of the North Eastern Cape on FM (See map at the appendices).

2.1.2.1.1.2. RADIO SETSWANA

The Tswana service, when broadcasting through the MW and rediffusion was presented daily from 05h30 to 10h50 and also from 17h00 to 23h00 from Pretoria.

It started broadcasting in the FM sound channel on 1 January 1962, from the Pretoria studios in conjunction with other studios in Bloemfontein and Mafekeng. Its broadcasting frequencies presently are FM 87,6 MHz - 90.6 MHz.

Presently, it broadcast for 18 hours every day. It is broadcast from 05h00 to 23h00 from Pietersburg and also serves the Tswana speaking people of the PWV area like Radio SeSotho. It also reaches people as far as Bophuthatswana and Botswana. Its biggest competitors are: Radio Bophuthatswana, which broadcasts in English and is on the air for 24 hours with a market segmentation of 16-35 years; and Radio Mmabatho, which broadcasts in Tswana and is on the air for 19 hours which is longer than Radio SeTswana.

These two competitors affect Radio SeTswana in areas like Central Orange Free State, Western Transvaal, Pretoria and the PWV area.

The characteristics as well as the content of Radio SeTswana programmes are like those of Radio SeSotho. Its coverage areas are: North to South Western Transvaal, including the PWV areas, Northern Western and Central OFS and the North Eastern Cape.

Radio SeTswana has at present a listenership of 0.932 million, which shows a great growth since it started playing a lot of international music so as to compete in the market. Radio SeTswana is presently under the Northern Transvaal Broadcasting service. It broadcasts on FM to the Western Transvaal, part of the OFS and the PWV area (See map at the appendices).

2.1.2.1.1.3. RADIO LEBOWA

Radio Lebowa was originally known as Northern Sotho Service since it broadcast in Northern Sotho which is the only standardised language and is recognised by the Northern Sotho Language Board. It was the first Northern Sotho station to be established together with other services on 1 June 1960 in Johannesburg. The Northern Sotho service started broadcasting through Afrikaans and English MW channels in Pretoria and Pietersburg before it moved to Pretoria as Radio Lebowa. On 1 January 1962, it started broadcasting on FM Channel.

It broadcasts more for people who are in the rural areas. To cater for the different dialects of this language, it is broadcast for the people in the Sekukuneland, which is on the other side of the Olifants River, the Modjadji area and other neighbouring places like Moletjie. It broadcasts for the Setlokwa speaking people, the Selobedu speaking people and the other smaller groups for example, the Changana, M'walungu who speak these other smaller

dialects. It goes as far as Bushbuckridge, in the Mapulane area, which has a little of Tsonga and Swazi taste.

It broadcasts on FM between 87,7 and 90,3 KHz to Northern and North Western Transvaal as well as the PWV area (See map at the appendices).

When Radio Lebowa started, it was broadcasting daily from 05h30 to 10h50 and from 17h00 to 23h00 through the MW transmitters. Presently it broadcasts for 18 hours like Radio SeTswana from Pietersburg, from 05h00 to 23h00. Radio Lebowa normally takes over from stations like Radio Venda and Radio Tsonga daily at 21h30 when these two stations go off air.

The characteristics and programme content of Radio Lebowa are the same as those of Radio SeSotho and Radio SeTswana.

It is a growing service. In 1987 it had 0.991 million listeners; in 1988 this went up to 1.337 million; in 1989 it was 1.377 million; and at the end of last year it was the second biggest profit making station at the SABC.

Radio Lebowa, unlike Radio SeSotho which is increasing its urban listenership, has more rural than urban listeners. The station is still both traditional and cultural in its musical programmes.

The station was originally broadcasting from Johannesburg and in 1976 together with Radio Venda and Radio Tsonga, was shifted to Pietersburg from where it is presently broadcasting.

Under the new SABC Radio Lebowa is under the Far North Broadcasting Service.

2.1.2.1.1.4. RADIO VENDA

The Venda and Tsonga services were heard daily from 05h30 to 06h30 and from 09h30 to 10h00 over MW channels (SABC Annual Report 1965). They were both broadcasting as one station from Johannesburg and in 1976 they both moved to Pietersburg. In 1977 Radio Venda and Radio Tsonga became independent services.

Radio Venda is one of the SABC's youngest stations. It was established on 1 February 1965 and meant to broadcast for the Venda speaking people who are presently in Vendaland, which is beyond Pietersburg. It reaches the Northern and North Eastern Transvaal, Pretoria, the

Witwatersrand area on FM and MW and some areas in Zimbabwe (See map at the appendices).

The present broadcasting hours of Radio Venda are far fewer than those of Radio SeSotho, SeTswana and Radio Lebowa. Radio Venda broadcasts from 05h00 until 21h30 and Radio Lebowa takes over its transmitters, as we have mentioned above. It is one of the non-profit making black services at the SABC.

Radio Venda, in the new SABC structure, has been shifted to the Far North Broadcasting service in Pietersburg.

2.1.2.1.1.5. RADIO TSONGA

Radio Tsonga broadcasts strictly for people in Gazankulu, especially in Giyane. It concentrates more on rural/regional areas than on urban areas. It covers exactly the same area as Radio Venda but on FM channel only (See map). It has also expanded in areas like Central Eastern Transvaal, Pretoria and the Witwatersrand.

Like Radio Venda, it presently starts at 05h00 to 21h30 and Radio Lebowa takes over until 23h00.

It has only 8 transmitters and it serves only 67.2% of the black population. In 1987 it had a 0.179 million listenership which in 1988 grew to 0.293 million and presently it has 0.323 million. This shows a tremendous growth.

Both Radio Venda and Radio Tsonga broadcast only for 10 hours a day. The reason is that they are too conservative; they focus more on rural areas and their broadcasting system is still too traditional and cultural.

2.1.2.1.2. NGUNI GROUP

The Nguni group consists of four services:

1. Radio Zulu
2. Radio Xhosa
3. Radio Ndebele
4. Radio Swazi.

In fact:

- a) Zulu is spoken by people in the whole of Zululand and Natal. It has many dialects which have been analysed by different scholars (see Kubheka 1981).
- b) Xhosa is spoken by people in Transkei, Ciskei, both East and Western Cape. It has dialects like Gcaleka and Gaike (see Doke 1967).
- c) Ndebele is seen by Doke (1967) as a dialect of Zulu. For many years it was regarded as a true dialect, because even Radio Zulu had a programme slot for the Ndebele speaking people until 1 September 1983 where it was taken away from Radio Zulu and its own station was formed. Ndebele is normally spoken by people in the Central Transvaal but more in the Eastern part namely Middelburg, Witbank, Kwaggafontein and Siyabuswa.
- d) Swazi is spoken by the people in Swaziland, Nelspruit, Bushbuckridge, Sabie and Whiteriver. In these areas there is an influence of Sotho and Tsonga languages.

2.1.2.1.2.1. RADIO ZULU

Radio Zulu is the biggest black station within the SABC. It is also the biggest profit making station. At present it has a listenership of over 3 million(SABC Annual Report 1991).

Radio Zulu has 20 transmitters scattered all over the country and it serves 90.04% of the black population. Radio Zulu is the only station that covers the whole of Natal and Zululand, the PWV area, Orange Free State, and part of the Cape through the FM sound broadcast. Normally Radio Zulu can broadcast in the Cape through the TV 2 channel, more especially during the day.

When it started broadcasting over the FM sound channel in 1962, the Zulu service was presented daily from Johannesburg and Durban from 05h30 to 23h00. Later, its studios were moved fully to Durban. From 1978 it started to broadcast for 24 hours, which was later cut down to 18,5 hours in 1986 because of the introduction of Radio Metro.

In 1987 broadcast research figures showed that Radio Zulu had a 3.198 million listenership - a handsome figure when

compared with the 10.1 million average listenership for radio in South Africa. The following year Zulu listenership figures increased to 3.446 million but in 1989 this dropped to 2.994 million. This is due to the transmission of TV at night and great competitors like Capital Radio which is broadcast for 24 hours and has a target audience of 16-35 years. The other factor might be the loss of midnight hours which were taken by Radio Metro. It used to broadcast from 04h30 until 23h00 when Radio Metro took over, but on 1 December 1991 it started broadcasting for 24 hours in stereophonic sound.

Since the SABC was restructured into business units, Radio Zulu presently falls under the Natal Broadcasting Services, which also includes Radio Port Natal and Radio Lotus.

2.1.2.1.2.2. RADIO XHOSA

Radio Xhosa programmes started broadcasting from Grahamstown through the Afrikaans and English MW transmitters at East London, Port Elizabeth, Cape Town and Grahamstown. Presently, Radio Xhosa is broadcast from Port Elizabeth.

It started - like Radio Zulu and Radio SeSotho - in 1940. In 1950 it broadcasted from Cape Town through Xhosa transmitters which had been built in 1942. From 1955 it moved to Grahamstown and in 1960. Broadcasting was done through Afrikaans and English MW transmitters in East London, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town. In 1967, it started broadcasting through FM sound channel from Port Elizabeth. Like Radio Zulu, it is a national/regional and cultural service. Its content is exactly the same as that of Radio Zulu, but it differs from Radio Zulu in its broadcasting hours. It is broadcast for only 18 hours instead of the 18,5 hours of Radio Zulu and Radio SeSotho. On 1 February 1992, it was announced that it will broadcast for 24 hours in both English and Xhosa. Radio Xhosa serves mostly people from East London, King Williams Town, Transkei, Ciskei, Umtata, Port Elizabeth and some areas in the Cape. It is broadcast on both FM and MW and reaches the Eastern Transvaal, Eastern Cape, Pretoria, Cape Peninsula and the PWV area (See map at the appendices).

2.1.2.1.2.3. RADIO NDEBELE

Recognised scholars in Nguni languages, for example Doke (1967), Kubheka (1989), Canonici (1991) view Ndebele as a dialect of the Zulu language. All the years up to 1983, the Ndebele people were listening to Radio Zulu as their main station. It was only on the 31 March 1983 that Radio Ndebele was established by the SABC, and it started by broadcasting for only 3 hours a day and later on 1 September 1983, hours were extended to 5½ hours a day. From 1 January 1984, the station broadcast for 9 hours a day on the week days and 11 hours per day on Saturdays and Sundays.

Presently it is only broadcast for 6 hours per day. It broadcasts from 05h30 to 09h30 after which Radio Zulu takes over. Later in the afternoon it broadcasts for the remaining two hours. It utilizes both FM and MW to reach Nylstroom, Grobblersdal, Middelburg, Pretoria, and the East Rand (See map at the appendices).

The 1986 rationalization at the SABC heavily affected Radio Ndebele, since it is not a profit making station, and its broadcasting hours were further reduced.

Radio Ndebele has only 4 transmitters and it serves 43.9% of the black population. The broadcasting research figures of 1987 indicate that of the 10.1 million listeners in South Africa in 1986 Radio Ndebele had had 0.06 million listenership. In 1988, it had 0.065 million. Presently it has 0.0226 which reflects a tremendous growth, due to lack of competition and to its broadcasting for the rural people who are still very much rooted in their cultures and traditions. Unlike the other black services, they are still putting more emphasis on educational programmes, language usage, cultural programmes. They have no programmes like dramas. They place more emphasis on those programmes which only promote the Ndebeles as a tribe. They leave other types of programmes to Radio Zulu, as it takes up most of the time during the day and in the evening.

Presently, Radio Ndebele is under the Northern Transvaal Broadcasting Service which also includes stations like Radio SeTswana, Radio Jacaranda, and Radio Swazi.

2.1.2.1.2.4. RADIO SWAZI

Radio Swazi was established on 1 April 1982. Originally it was broadcasting only for 3 hours, that is from 18h30 to 21h30, but on 1 January 1983 it began broadcasting also from 07h00 to 08h30 which means that hours were extended to 5½ hours a day.

Radio Swazi has 5 transmitters and it serves 43.9% of the population. It broadcasts for people mainly at Nelspruit and its outskirts. Actually, it covers the Northern Transvaal and the Witwatersrand. Its listenership is heavily affected by its competitor Swaziland Radio. Like Radio Ndebele, its transmitters are used by Radio Zulu during the day, that is from 09h30 to 15h30. Even during the other hours when Radio Swazi is also on air, people tend to listen mostly to Radio Zulu. Its listenership is greater than that of Radio Ndebele. 1987 broadcasting research figures indicate that of 10,1 million adults that tuned into the radio, Radio Swazi has 0.208 million listeners. In 1988, the listenership dropped to 0.814. Its present listenership is 0.239 - a drop which was caused by the SABC's 1986 rationalisation. Radio Swazi transmits on FM and MW and covers the Eastern Transvaal, Pretoria and the East Rand (See map at the appendices).

Radio Swazi characteristics and programme content is similar to that of the other black services. Radio Swazi music ranges from pop, jazz, international music to traditional music. It resembles Radio Ndebele in its heavy promotion of the SeSwati language.

In the present SABC structure, Radio Swazi is under the Northern Transvaal Broadcasting Service together with Radio Ndebele, Jacaranda and Radio SeTswana.

2.1.2.1.3. RADIO METRO

Radio Metro is a stereo service broadcasting on MW. Its target market is the more sophisticated, literate black person. It was established on 1 September 1986. It is also the station the black yuppie listens to - an obvious advantage to the advertiser. The language medium is English. Metro's music is modern (in contrast to the Nguni and Sotho services) and includes a significant amount of international jazz. The station was established due to black urbanisation and the development of a black consumer middle class.

Between 05h00 and 23h00, Metro broadcasts over an area stretching from Warmbaths in the North, to Clocolan in the South, Biesiesvlei in the West to Piet Retief in the East. From 23h00 to 05h00 they can be heard nationally on the Nguni and Sotho transmitters.

Radio audience research indicated that more than 12.2 million adults tuned in daily to the SABC's radio services because of this station. In 1990, Radio Metro had a 0.791 listenership, while Radio Zulu remained the station with the highest listenership at 3.18 million. It presently covers the PWV area, Natal, Cape and North Eastern OFS. 1992 listenership showed that Radio Metro has a 1.8 Million listenership nation wide.

Explaining the success of this station which happened in no time, Mr Koos Hadebe, the present station manager says:

Our experienced DJ who does not emulate any other station in the Republic is our main key to success. We make it a point, when employing our DJs, that we do not concentrate on any qualifications or knowledge of Afrikaans, as SABC was doing in its other black services, but we concentrate mostly on talent and a thorough knowledge of music.

(Personal communication 1990)

2.1.2.2. BLACK ORIENTATED SERVICES IN THE RESTRUCTURED¹ SABC

In the broadest sense of the word, radio aims to inform, entertain and educate. Some stations place greater emphasis on entertainment and information, for example Radio Metro, while others emphasize cultural matters for example both Nguni and SeSotho services.

As a communication technology in the media world, radio offers excellent target market segmentation. The 23 radio services of the SABC provide a programme variety as diverse as mankind itself.

The Nguni and Sotho Services go by this name because they consist primarily of the two major language groups. In the restructuring of the SABC into business units, this had to fall away. All radio services had to fall into their respective regions, regardless of their language group or classification. Though SABC restructures the black orientated services, tribalism and apartheid language policy is still maintained (Vide 3.6).

1

In the restructuring of the SABC, the "Nguni-Sotho" term had to fall off. Black orientated services had to be spread into different business units of the SABC.

Explaining this restructuring, Prof. Christo Viljoen, the chairman of the board for the SABC says:

Die primere doelwit is om die SAUK te omskep in funksionele, goed bestuurde sake - eenheid en om kommunikasielyne tussen Bestuur en die personeel te verkort. 'n Tweede doelwit is om die beste individu vir elke posisie aangestel te kry - hetsy van binne die SAUK - en dan is ons reg vir die dinamiese omgewing waarin die uitsaaiwese hom vandag bevind.
(Interkom July 1991:8)

Concerning the radio as a whole, prof. Viljoen says:

Die SAUK se dienste moet tred hou met die behoeftes van luisteraars en kykers ... Maar die moet op 'n suiwer sakegrondslag geskied. 'n Mens kan byvoorbeeld nie 'n popmusiekstasie bedryf as die nie ekonomies vatbaar is nie.

(Interkom July 1990:9)

The restructuring of the SABC led to the dismantling of all the Nguni/Sotho Services. The present structure is as follows:

a) Western Cape broadcasting service:

- i) Radio Good Hope
- ii) Radio Kontrei (This normally breaks
from Radio Good Hope for Platteland
Broadcast)

b) Eastern Cape broadcasting service:

- i) Radio Xhosa
- ii) Radio Algoa

c) Free State broadcasting service:

- i) Radio Oranje
- ii) Radio Goudveld (for mine broadcast)

d) Natal broadcasting service:

- i) Radio Zulu
- ii) Radio Port Natal
- iii) Radio Lotus

e) Northern Transvaal broadcasting service:

- i) Radio SeTswana
- ii) Radio Jacaranda
- iii) Radio Swazi
- iv) Radio Ndebele

f) Far North broadcasting service:

- i) Radio Lebowa
- ii) Radio Tsonga
- iii) Radio Venda (see full diagram in
appendices)

Public service and commercial radio are based in
broadcast centre, Johannesburg. Public radio includes :

- i) Radio South Africa
- ii) Radio Suid-Afrika
- iii) Radio SeSotho

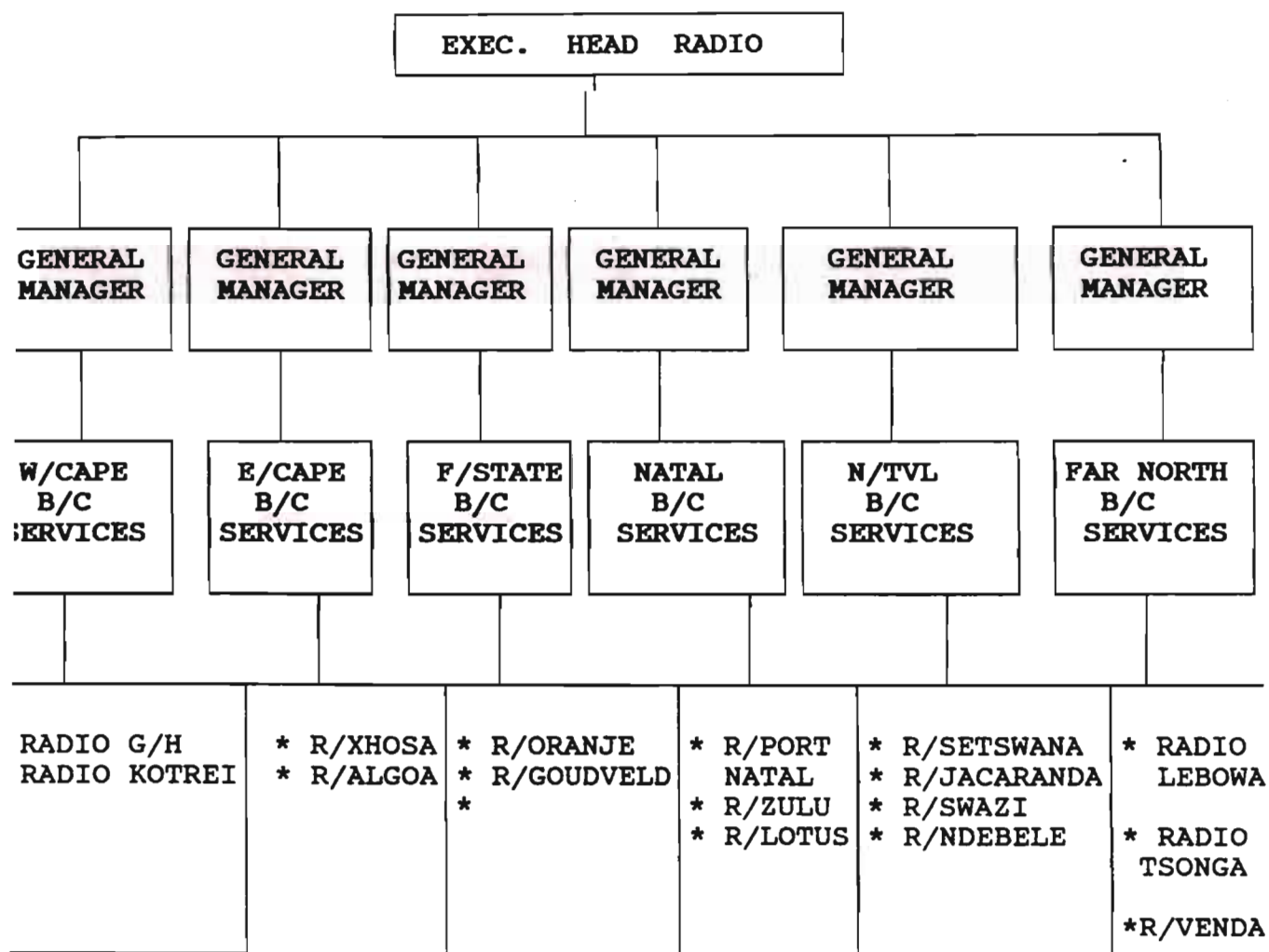
and commercial radio includes :

- i) Radio Five
- ii) Radio Metro
- iii) Radio Highveld
- iv) Radio Orion
- v) Radio 2 000.

Regions are autonomous, since each will become a management unit in its own right some time in the future. Each will function as a viable unit as regards local products and functions for which they will have the final responsibility. Broadcasting Centre, Johannesburg with all facilities, is a management unit (division) with various sub-units for effective service to several units and potential external users. Such restructuring shows that SABC is getting more commercialised. They do not

bother about language and ethnic policy. For example, the grouping of black orientated services with the white orientated services. e.g Radio Xhosa grouped with Radio Algoa, Radio Zulu with Radio Lotus and Port Natal. The whole structure can be schematically shown thus:

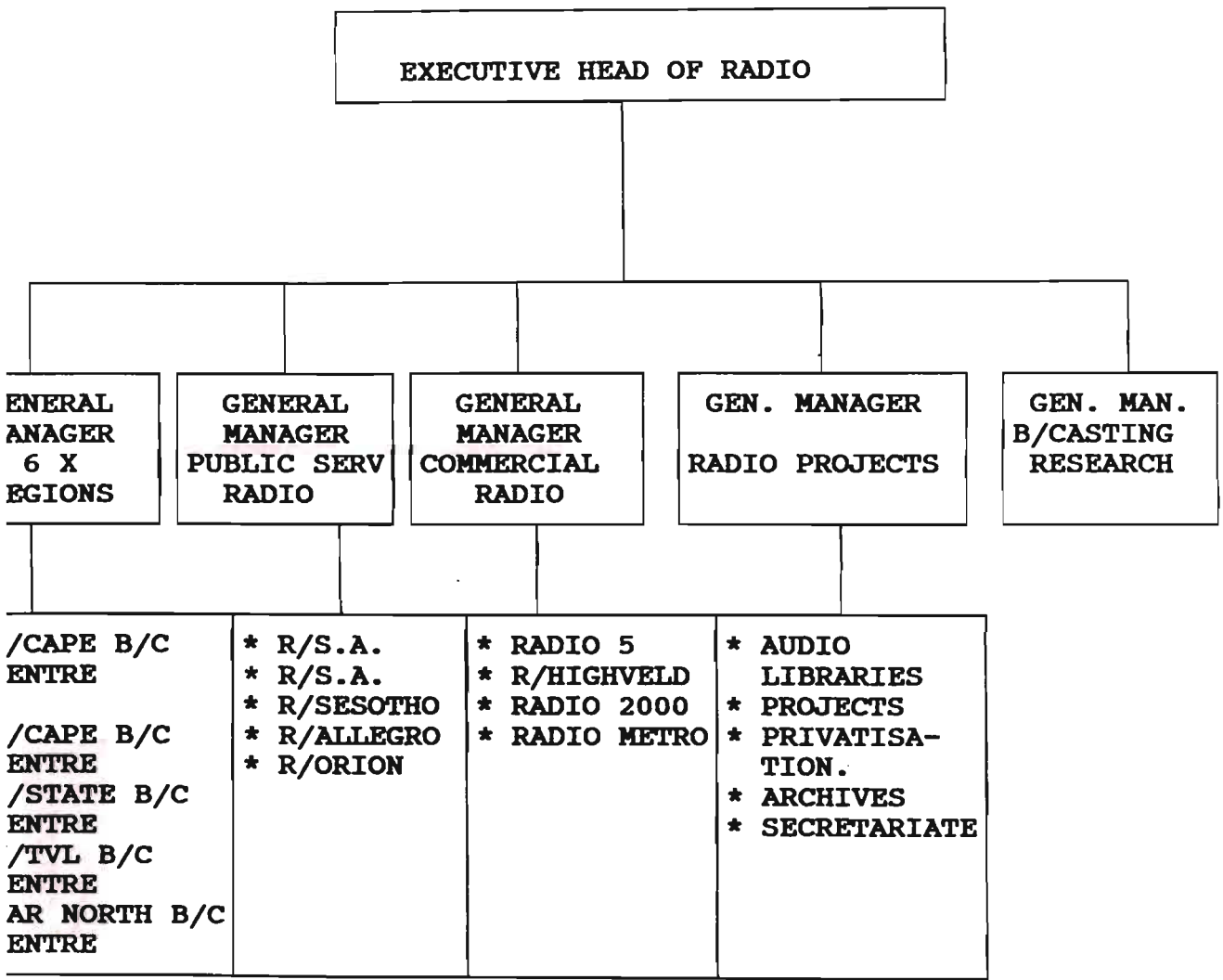
RADIO IN SIX DIFFERENT REGIONS



Radio Kontrei normally breaks from Radio Good Hope for Platteland Broadcast.

Radio Goudveld also breaks from Radio Oranje during the day, for Mine Broadcast.

RADIO SECTION UNDER THE "NEW" S A B C



2.2. CONCLUSION

Radio is a dynamic medium, striving ceaselessly to maintain and improve its programme content and broadcasting quality. Illustrating this statement is the fact that the SABC has more than 150 transmission stations countrywide, housing over 530 transmitters to accommodate the 23 SABC radio services.

The programme content of the nine Nguni and Sotho services (including Radio Metro) cater for the urban as well as the rural black person. Together, the reception area of the said stations covers all of the rural parts of the country. However, there are many urbanized black people who prefer to listen to programmes in their mother tongue. The music compilation covers western as well as traditional music. Programme content is well balanced: education, entertainment, religion, as well as subjects that are unique to a particular ethnic group, for example economics and contemporary politics. All these services carry commercials.

Research has confirmed that these services constitute the biggest and most comprehensive communication medium in

South Africa by which the black population can be reached. Out of an adult population of 15 047 000, 8 974 000 (59.6%) listen to a radio station every day and 7 485 000 (49.7%) listen daily to these cultural services¹ (SABC Annual Report 1990).

Listenership of these services in urban areas has increased by 17.6% whereas there has been a decrease of 12.8% in listenership in rural areas. This may be attributed partly to increasing urbanisation. It applies to Xhosa speakers in particular, who have contributed to the increase of 40.3% in listenership. In fact, both Radio Xhosa and Radio SeSotho already have more urban listeners than rural listeners.

Recently, the Natal Witness newspaper reported a trend where urban black radio listenership grew by a staggering 42.5% in 1990.

¹ This refers to the nine separate black vernacular services which were forced in their programmes to be cultural agents particularly as the provokers and circulators of different tribal meanings among the black people in the South Africa.

CHAPTER THREE

LANGUAGE AND BROADCASTING

3.1. Introductory perspective

The previous chapter has already established the history and developments of individual black radio stations in South Africa. This chapter will be devoted to language, and, more specifically, to language as a means of communication, and its usage in broadcasting. The central theme of this chapter will be to show how language was used in oral-aural societies, literate societies and electronic societies since the broadcast announcer has been preceded by millennia of related professions.

Preliterate storytellers, troubadours, the singers of psalms, town criers, and newspaper journalists of a later age, all performed roles similar to those of modern announcers, for each was charged with providing a service

to a public. Therefore, announcers are related to storytellers in that they speak directly to their audiences (Hyde 1983). This is the orality-literacy perspective which we have now to examine.

The introduction of writing has by no means lead to the extinction of oral poetic forms.

Explaining this Mzamane writes:

In dealing with creativity among blacks, most scholars tend to deal with either oral or written forms, but very seldom with both, as if these entities are not mixed within the creative process of black writers in South Africa. In practice, this distinction between traditional oral modes and western literacy forms does not exist, or at least, is never clearly demarcated. Black writers often operate, unconsciously most of the time, within both traditions. Their work is conceived within the assumptions of both the traditional and the western literary forms of composition. Despite the remarks sometimes made by literary critics about the work of Can Themba, Casy Mostsitsi, Lewis Nkosi and a host of others, the African writer who has been westernised to the extent that he has been cut off completely from his roots does not exist in reality. 'Tradition lives alongside the present' Ezekial Mphahlele argues in *Voices of the Whirlwind*. Literary criticism which ignores either of the two worlds of the African writers, with their respective aesthetic norms dabbles in half-truths.

(Mzamane 1984:147)

To address this issue of both oral and literate traditions in broadcasting, this chapter has been structured to include language definitions by few (a) scholars, some comment on Jousse's (1990) anthropology of language. Lastly, language variations, especially in broadcasting, with radio in particular, is also undertaken.

3.2. Language defined

A handful of scholars have given different definitions of language. Peter Trudgill's view that:

Language is not simply a means of communicating information about weather or any other subject. It is also a very important means of establishing and maintaining relationships with other people.
(Trudgill 1974:34)

Sapir sees language as:

... a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires by means of a system of voluntarily produced symbols.
(Sapir 1921:8)

Bloch and Trager (1942:5) define language as a system of arbitrary vocal symbols through which a social group operates.

These definitions share a common idea: that language is a tool to maintain good relationships or relates man to himself and to other men. It shows that language ought to be understood in its ordinary sense as a tool of communications, and as an emblem of human interrelatedness, as a symbol.

Ong (1967) mentioned that man communicates with his whole body, and yet the word is his primary medium. This may be translated as meaning that a communicator (Man) does not only use words (which is language) if he conveys information, but also some parts of his body. A man uses both terms or non-verbal signs, as he understands them, for communication. Therefore, this result in the fact that words are not things, but symbols for representing things.

Language is used for communication purposes by a group of people who constitute the speech or language community. It is linked to the philosophy of life of the people concerned. It is an index of a people's thoughts about life and their fortune. Much of the way

of life and world view of a people is contained in their language.

Language as culture is the collective memory bank of a people's experience in history.
(Ngugi 1986:15)

Marcel Jousse centres his definition on language as gesture. Jousse's point of departure in the definition of a language is that the newborn creature possesses motor aptitudes:

The newborn child ... is a machine that produces movements, the appearance of which is primary. As they depend on the inferior centres of the brain, they are empty of consciousness or at least of cognition. Later, with the development of the superior centres of the cerebral cortex, the organisation of the motor system is complete.
(Jousse 1990:11)

This machine that produces movements makes reflexes which he called 'gestures'. Therefore, an individual is nothing but an example of movements (of gestures) combined in different ways. These gestures are not only physiological but also psychological. They are 'markedly rhythmical':

It is (therefore) certain that the tendency towards rhythm is a primary manifestation of the human brain, a manifestation that is rooted deep

in organic life itself ... stereotyped movements, repeated according to a more or less monotonous rhythm, constitute the totality of the motor creativity of some imbeciles.

(Jousse 1990:21)

Language, for Jousse, is an echo of voiced reality:

Man has an almost irresistible tendency to imitate (not only by manual gestures) ... all he sees (but only) generally ... all that he hears ... and to describe it by means of one or more sounds.

(Jousse 1990:89)

Jousse' argument about the term 'language' is that 'we give to the word too restricted a sense when we make it designate 'lingual' language only. In reality, oral language is reduction and an end product'.

For Jousse, the spoken language is described as 'laryngo-buccal'. It has very gradually usurped the place of universal corporal gesture by which spontaneous man expresses himself' (Jousse 1990:284).

Jousse makes a distinction between spoken, oral style and written style:

1. Spoken style (oral language) is the style of conversation of discourse directed at an audience.

His argument is that spoken language is flexible and agile, it marks the connection between clauses by brief simple indication. It occurs notably in all their spontaneous purity.

2. Oral style is traditional. It is designed to be remembered, after simply having been heard, and is recited and transmitted by memory, conforms to the traditional mnemonic and mnemotechnical devices. Man is indeed by nature 'mnemotechnical'. He says man creates stable, manageable frameworks whereby to preserve in living form, and to transmit to his descendants, his past experiences.
3. Written style is used by us and is an extremely practical means of intercommunication. It is the language carried by books, which reaches an indefinite number of unknown readers.

(Jousse 1990)

For Jousse:

The spoken language is always accompanied by gestures; their role is in such a case naturally reduced; they become secondary; while it is (voiced) language that takes on the function of expressing and communicating

(Jousse 1990:40)

Jousse's approach to language is totally different to that of scholars that followed him. To him language is 'gestures' that is 'expressions which have a psychological, physiological or mechanical origin', and we used these all the time in social life to express feelings (mental attitudes).

3.3. LANGUAGE AS MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

Finnegan (1988:18) maintains that:

Communication is an essential element in human society. In its various forms, it is the basis on which the varying cultures and civilizations of the world have rested.

and that:

... Communication is so fundamental we tend to take it for granted and not to reflect overmuch the various forms it takes.

(Finnegan 1988:16)

'A closer analysis of non-verbal communication patterns - and particularly the various technological channels through which communication can flow - will be discussed. In such a discussion one needs always to keep in mind that, even though we may do an analysis of communication, the whole process is

centred around 'language'. Communication is a sphere where the technology involved may have an immense significance for the society in which it occurs, and perhaps radically affect the concurrent form of social and economic organisation (Finnegan 1988).

Communication depends on the existence of significant relationships between those involved, sharing a language or certain gestures or some system of signs. Language, any language, has a dual character: it is both a means of communication and a carrier of culture (Ngugi 1986).

Finnegan writing on technology and communication has argued that:

Communication, it can be argued, is a sphere where the technology involved may have an immense significance for the society in which it occurs, and perhaps radically affects the concurrent forms of social and economic organisation.
(Finnegan 1988:76)

Finnegan's statement echoes McLuhan's argument, where he speaks of the world becoming a 'global village' in which every human action or event involves everybody

in the village in the consequences of every event'
(McLuhan 1970).

McLuhan's statement may be looked at as a summing up of Jousse's statement that man is 'surrounded by a world in which innumerable actions trigger other actions ...'
(Jousse 1990).

What must be emphasized when talking about communication and technology is that the 'mass media, as traditionally established, are also often impersonal in that communicators are speaking to anonymous audiences: there is not a personal or face-to-face relationship (as with speech between two people) since the two way interaction is impossible' (Finnegan 1988).

Special communication like that of radio is structured around the art and skill of 'language style', delivery selection, speaker's competence and organisation of supporting material and forms of speaking.

3.4. LANGUAGE AND SOCIETY

Luthuli holds the view that :

'society is a group of people having something in common, such as sharing the same language, similar beliefs and convictions, and in short, the same culture or way of life'.

(Luthuli 1982:16)

Luthuli(1982) asserts that there is an interaction between language and society. This may mean that language does not carry only functional meaning but also social functions. Or it may mean because of language, a society fosters different types of groups which are composed of individuals who interact freely with one another.

Luthuli seems to echo Firth (1951) when he writes:

If society is taken to an organized set of individuals with a given way of life, culture is that way of life.

Generally speaking, Firth sees a relationship between culture and society, onto which Luthuli adds 'language'.

Though the terms 'language' and 'society' are not the key concepts of this study, it is necessary at least to highlight three points that Barber (1971) said about society, without setting severe limits to the subject matter and scope of it.

According to Barber, society refers to a group of human beings of both sexes and of all ages. Secondly, society presupposes the existence of a static net of interrelationships within which one can distinguish the position held by the members of the group in terms of roles, prestige, power, and occupation. Thirdly, society presupposes not common activities, but a certain degree of organisation of such activities in specific units normally called 'institutions'.

In order then to have a society there must be human beings who are the users of a language. Society is made up of a complex web of interaction and relationship. Radio, as mass media, operates within this complex web. Any particular forms of stylistic creations in radio

should be studied as parts of the general pattern of interaction and interrelationships of society.

Radio, which is a tool in our mechanized, electronified era, or society, shows a great shift as far as the oral usage of language is concerned. It make us compare orality in our times with that common to societies where 'orality or oral modes of thought were still dominant until when orality and literacy (writing) were in constant interaction, even in the most highly advanced ethnographic cultures' (Frielick 1991:3).

Writers emphasised several aspects of oral communication: words convey meaning in an environment of shared knowledge (Ref Frielick 1991:5); words carry information (Ref Tannen 19982:3); the media has more influence than the message (Ref McLuhan 1967:8).

This will show that radio is one of the mass media technology that brought a great 'ecology' in orality, as it is solely dependent on 'words', music, sound effects; and announcers are the product of these societies, if not the innovators of oral and literate compositions originating from these societies.

3.4.1. The Oral-Aural society

Ong (1967) maintains that it has become evident that, in terms of communication media, cultures (societies) can be divided into the following successive stages:

1. Oral or oral-aural society.
2. Script society.
3. Electronic society.

Ong's interesting question on the oral or oral-aural culture is: 'What was the world like to men of old, more particularly to men before the word was put into writing?' (Ong 1967).

Oral cultures will therefore include cultures in which, as Ong points out:

... by contrast with high-technology cultures, courses in action and attitudes towards issues depend significantly more on effective use of words, and thus on human-interaction, and significantly less on non-verbal, often largely visual input from the 'objective' world of things ... We are expanding on its use here to include all cultures that retain enough oral residue to remain significantly word-attentive in a person-interactive context (the oral type of context) rather than objective-attentive.
(Ong 1982:68)

In a primary/oral culture, the main form of communication is the successful use of language (speech). For this reason, the emphasis is on the use of speech in a manner acceptable to a particular society (Kaschula 1991:44).

For this communication to be successful:

... you have to do your thinking in mnemonic patterns, shaped by ready oral recurrence. Your thought must come into being in heavy rhythmic, balanced patterns, in repetitions or antitheses, in alliteration and assonance, in epithetic and other formulaic expressions, in standard thematic settings (the assembly ...), in proverbs which are constantly heard by everyone so that they come to mind readily and which themselves are patterned for retention and ready recall, or in other mnemonic form ...'

(Ong 1982:34)

Today we are faced with 'our new sensitivity to the media, where the radio has brought with it a growing sense of the word as word, which is to say of the word as sound' (Ong 1967:18). The question is whether, black announcers, having been introduced to literacy, will make less use of mnemonic devices associated with oral cultures/societies or not?

But:

... no oral form can be unaffected by the presence of written communication, especially as the latter is so often associated with high status of one kind or another.

(Goody 1987:82)

Havelock (1963), explaining oral culture, has shown that in ancient Greek culture the mnemonic devices which we ordinarily associate with verse today, are not only part of ordinary extra-poetic verbalisation, but actually determine thought structures as well.

Williams (1972) and Winner (1986) describe this society as 'a last and long forgotten organic Eden where humans lived in pristine harmony with nature'.

Frielick (1991:5) claims that:

in oral societies, the use of words to merely convey information is always within a broader context of shared knowledge which respects the privacy of interpersonal relationships.

McLuhan offers a contrasting view:

Man, in an oral-aural society, lived in acoustic space: soundless, directionless, horizonless, in the dark of the mind, in the world of emotion, by primordial intuition, by terror.

(McLuhan 1967:48)

Lately, radio has brought back that 'lost and long forgotten organic Eden' (Williams 1972). We are now back

in acoustic space and more enveloped by sound. It forms a seamless web around us (McLuhan 1967:111). We are in an era in which, 'from one point of view, words themselves are a kind of symphony of the sensorium, a cinematic flow which includes all of our 'five and country senses'' (McLuhan 1969).

3.4.2. The Literate society

Literate society must not be confused with the electronified or mechanised culture or society. Both eras may be taken as new eras of non-literacy. An electronified society is a technological society; the electric technology, where the word has been made possible by the radio.

In a literate society we are dealing with a technology of writing which is 'relevant both for the transmission of accumulated knowledge from one generation to another and also for contact between different cultures' (Finnegan 1988).

Explaining the technology of writing and its existence, Finnegan says:

The existence of writing leads ... to the possibility of the accumulation of information over time. ... The spread of religions like Islam, Christianity, or Hinduism, has been made possible by writing. These are all 'religions of the book' dependent on literacy and on the existence and circulation of 'a virtually indestructible document belonging to one of the great world religions' (Goody 1968). Writing made possible the transmission and rediscovery of the accumulated wisdom of the classical world of the Renaissance ...' (Finnegan 1988:23)

In a literate society, 'language is deprived of its multi-dimensional resonance, every word is a poetic world unto itself, a 'momentary deity' or revelation, as it seemed to non-literate men' (McLuhan 1962). In a literate society, we look at the 'world of alphabets and scribal culture' (McLuhan 1962:40).

Carothers (1959) writing about the literate society and its people stresses that phonetic writing split apart thought and action of the individual. The word (language) in such a society was locked in a text until radio came and make it 'winged' again. In a literate society we see writing as an extension of the eye (McLuhan 1964).

While the book mediated knowledge and became mind - out - there, radio revived and extended the old oral world of

sound. Language in the literate society is more fixed on a text as was characteristic of 'the Gutenberg era' (McLuhan 1962) where writing affected speech directly, not only its accidence and syntax but also its enunciation and social use (McLuhan 1960).

In a very literate society, it thrusts information upon us instantaneously and continuously. It can even make the information more memorable than the content of a book. It created what McLuhan (1967) calls 'a brand new world of allatonceness', where we live in a global village ... a simultaneous happening, where we are back in acoustic space.

Print technology (that is the literate society) created the public. Electric technology created the masses (the electric society).

3.4.3. The Electronic/Mechanized society

Ong asserts that:

writing, print and the computer are all ways of
technologizing the word
(Ong 1987:9)

However, radio did not only technologized the word, it 'winged' it, which writing, print and computers cannot do.

Print brought new problems of value management, and computers brought still more. Radio created more problems than either. Radio did not only bring more problems, but it took us back to the world of 'time' and 'space'. It made us return to oral conditions of communication in that

it is precisely the microphone, phonograph and radio that have readied our perceptions again for enjoyment of poetry as speech and song
(McLuhan 1967:71)

because:

Our acoustic technology is beginning to restore the ancient union of words and music, but especially the tape recorder has brought back the voice of the Lord
(McLuhan 1967:73)

Radio offers participation, where the listener finds himself responding to unseen announcers. The radio therefore, entertains man in a unique way. The entertainment derived from a book is permanently stored, whereas the entertainment provided by the announcer is a

transitory experience. Therefore, in an electronic society, we find radio not only enhancing orality but bringing back all its mnemonic and poetic conditions of communication.

Radio allowed the oral medium to be reconsidered as a more valid and intelligible form of communication than the written, and even the written is now tending to be couched in forms imitative of the oral mode (Lakkof 1982). Such language usage created the mechanized or electronic culture/society.

McLuhan (1967) reminds us that radio deals with 'spoken words' in the age of writing. We are not sure whether it (radio) will create its own age of the 'spoken word'. The spoken word was the first technology by which man was able to let go of his environment in order to group it in a new way (McLuhan 1964). But in this 'electric age'

We see ourselves being translated more and more into the form of information, moving toward the technological extension of consciousness.
(McLuhan 1964:57)

Ong fully maintains that mechanized society/culture is fully dependent on 'the literate' with its technology of writing:

writing initiated what print and computer only continue, the reduction of dynamic sound to quiescent space, the separation of the word from the living present, when alone spoken words can exist.
(Ong 1982:82)

This electronic age

... is also an age of 'secondary orality', the orality of telephones, radio and television, which depends on writing and print for its existence.
(Ong 1982:3)

Literacy begins with writing but, at a later stage of course (or presently), also involves radio, telephones and televisions. McLuhan puts this differently when he says that

One medium of expression modifies another, as one language is changed by contact with another. ... each medium gives explicitness and stress to one sense over another.
(McLuhan 1969:60)

His conclusion is that

Code, language, mechanical medium - all have magical properties which transform, transfigure. But they do not achieve a living spectacle or awareness of the

total action required in the electronic age of simultaneities. All the earlier media were exclusive; the electronic age is inclusive.
(McLuhan 1969:62)

The radio and television should not become merely vehicles for already achieved experience and insight, but that they are now languages:

Radio and television aren't new ways of handling manuscripts and book culture. The motor car wasn't a substitute for the horse. It did what the horse could never do. Radio and television aren't audio-visual aids to enhance or to popularize previous forms of experience. We must first master and then teach these new languages in all their minute particularity and riches.
(McLuhan 1969:133)

In this mechanized society we see the book, that is print, loses its monopoly as a cultural form and radio and television take over. In a recent study, Martin Williams, the Natal Witness deputy editor, admitted openly that radio 'may threaten SA print media'. Addressing the Institute of Marketing Management, he emphasized that:

Radio clearly has a future, and I should imagine any media organisation trying to protect or increase its advertising revenue ...
(Williams 1991)

Further, he said:

Newspapers throughout the country would have to become more creative and a lot more energetic in their marketing strategies if they were to maintain their share of advertising revenue and readership.
(Williams 1991)

The mechanized society, converted preliterate storytellers, town criers, and troubadours into 'announcers' or 'disc jockeys' who are the product of the electronic age (Hyde 1983). The interaction between the traditional oral forms and the more western literate forms is very clear in the present era. In black announcers' stylistic creations, repetition, personification, opening and closing formulas and formulaic expression, all features of orally produced poetry, are noticable.

3.5. LANGUAGE AND TECHNOLOGY

Language has always been a mass medium; whereas the new media are new languages each having their own unique grammar and aesthetic modes.

All of the new media have enriched our perceptions of language and other media. They are to the man-made environment what species are to biology.
(McLuhan 1969:85)

Technology made the language 'empty' by being spoken by an anonymous speaker. For example, in the case of radio and telephone, the chance exists that the speaker might not introduce himself.

Harold Innis (1964) argued that the technology of communication was central to all other technology and influenced strongly the social organisation of a society. Harold saw technology as principally affecting local organisation and culture. In the following section the technologising of language by radio will be discussed.

3.5.1. LANGUAGE USAGE IN BROADCASTING

There are many ways of using language in broadcasting in general.

3.5.1.1. Language and Radio

Radio could be described as : 'the oracle of the electronic age; the oracle of the new communication, or the new oralism'.

Radio brought oralism back in a totally different way. Radio made the word become anonymous since its only reality involved the meaning of two living persons who needed to know and recognise each other and to exchange something. Radio makes words (language) pass by with no importance, 'as long as no one puts the weight of his entire life behind these words' (Ellul 1985:157).

Radio made language more noisy, since the person speaking (announcer) cannot be seen at that time.

Under these circumstances of describing words as just words, and their speakers as anonymous, Lee's two worlds of words are easily applicable here. Lee (1941) argues that we live in two worlds which must not be confused: 'a world of words', and 'a world of not-words'.

Words in our 'world of words' are merely symbols by which we may talk about things in our 'world of not-words'.

Lee, explaining these two worlds of words, says:

Words are not the things themselves. Words have denotative meanings which include all that strictly belongs to the definitions of the words. They also have connotative meanings which include all the ideas

that are supported by the words. Words are merely symbols by which we talk about things, regardless of people's interpretations of these symbols. To avoid confusion, we must realize that people do add their own connotations to these symbols.

(Lee 1941:18)

Lee's argument is valid as far as language usage in radio is concerned: sometimes communication consists of abstracting some details and omitting others.

Radio contributes mostly to these two worlds. An announcer may use a word that needs much experience on the part of the listener to understand what he is saying, or to understand what that word represents. The announcer may naively assume that what he is saying is clear to his listeners and therefore he is also equally clear to his colleagues.

Radio is a strongest medium; which ought to use and rely mostly on a standard language and avoid dialects as much as it can. But one fact that cannot be changed is that our responses to words or terms may vary widely.

Capp and Capp (1976), with regard to language in verbal communication, talk of high-level words and low-level

words. High-level words are those that may be interpreted in many ways. Low-level words are those with a more specific meaning because they refer to objects and events.

One announcer may use 'high-level words', as much as his language allows him, but the listener might not easily understand him/her. But it must be clearly understood that a word may be a 'high-level' in one language and 'low-level' in another. As language differs, also their words differ. For an example in Zulu we have two meanings of the word 'ithanga'. Firstly, it means 'thigh' and secondly, 'pumpkin'. A Zulu announcer using (ithanga) can easily confuse his listeners.

'Amathanga akho mahle'

may be interpreted as:

'Your thighs are beautiful', or
'Your pumpkins are beautiful'.

The above examples indicate that radio in its use of a language may cause any of the following:

1. Promote the language effectively

2. Destroy the language
3. Create confusion over proper language usage in the society
4. Increase chances of misunderstanding
5. Increase mastery of language than a thorough knowledge of the language itself.

To admit the above problems Capp and Capp asserted that:

1. Oral language should be clear, appropriate, vivid and free from affectations.
2. Oral language should exist for communication and not for exhibition or display of one's vocabulary.
3. Oral language should be specific and simple.
4. Oral language should be free of technical terminology.
5. Oral language should strive for economy of expression.
6. It must be more repetitious than written style.
7. It must make use of imagery and appeal to basic desires so that listeners will want to listen.
8. It must have more action words.

(Capp and Capp 1976)

Capp and Capp's points are most appropriate for language usage in radio. In order to attract the listener, there are four points that the announcer ought to have in mind:

1. Usage of action words
2. Usage of imagery words
3. Simplicity (of style)
4. Usage of colourful words.

It will be interesting to see that announcers' styles or 'air personalities' are based on their use of diction and imagery.

Some of the announcers expressions leave us ignorant of what they mean. This results in words becoming meaningless symbols. (e.g. Mahlangu's expressions of Radio Ndebele.)

Some of their stylistic creations sometimes show both concrete and abstract elements. They cannot be blamed for their abstraction since

Abstractions are unavoidable in the use of language ... What is important is that in our use of words we should be conscious of the fact that they are abstractions... Unless we are especially conscious of how far we have gone in our abstracting ... our language will be meaningless, even to ourselves.

(Gray et al 1959:507)

Announcers should be sure that words they use convey their ideas accurately:

To help achieve this goal we must consider words as symbols, locate the level at which we talk, consider the time of which we are speaking, and be aware that we are abstracting some details and omitting others.
(Capp and Capp 1976:264)

3.5.1.2. Broadcasting and Black languages

Broadcasting in black languages is still at its infancy stage, especially in some of the Nguni-Sotho languages. The Swazi and Ndebele languages are a good example of this. The way the language is still used by the respective announcers of Radio Swazi and Radio Ndebele, shows that they are still building up these languages by avoiding words from other languages (e.g English/Afrikaans), whereas Radio Tsonga, Lebowa and Venda are still using only traditional words in their broadcasting. They using radio as the 'communication system of a society often interrelated as in the folktale that entertains while entertaining the young to the values of their society' (Brown et al 1978). This is revealed in some of their expressions which are still carrying oral

traditional devices, for example genealogies and Izihasho. (see Chapter 4 in this regard).

The presence of an oral tradition in broadcasting in black languages, shows that language usage by black announcers is busy reshaping and restructuring patterns of social interdependence and every aspect of the people's life, making the listeners realise how much respective oral traditions compared to the literate tradition.

This has caused more people to be in the 'interfaced tradition' (McLuhan 1967) of not knowing whether to accept new forms in their languages or remain purely traditional.

3.6. LANGUAGE VARIATIONS/VARIATIONS IN LANGUAGES

In 1772, Johawn Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) stressed that man was innately endowed with the capacity for reason and speech. The diversity of languages was seen to be rooted in the variety of social environments and thus, over time, a group comes to share a common language.

Whitehead maintains that the top of language variety can be discussed in two ways:

First, in terms of the practices of distinctive language communities and, second, in terms of personal and idiosyncratic usage. We might call these macro- and micro-dimensions of linguistic variations. The macro-linguistic dimension reveals the huge number of human languages that exist as well as the immense variation found within any one apparently uniform language community. The micro-dimensions emphasize the highly individual nature of language use, including the operation of different styles and linguistic choices.

(Whitehead 1990:22)

Though radio mostly deals with 'human languages', it must be remembered that there are as many different ways of using language personally as there are individuals in a language community.

These professional personal language styles in radio are what we are here to observe and analyse. Linguists (Lyons 1977, Whitehead 1990) call these linguistic styles 'idiolects'.

In broadcast, there should be more variation that might range from switching one language style to another, which might include vocabulary, syntax and sentence phonology.

3.6.1. Language variations in broadcasting

Variation in speech normally includes word preference, pronunciation, and syntactic options. But radio is the medium that strictly does not deal with dialects, registers and slang. But it is accepted that 'variety is also found in every individual's linguistic repertoire. We all do switch register and change the degrees of formality in our language, according to the perceived social context' (Whitehead 1990) which is acceptable in radio broadcast and we consider that as innovation in one's daily broadcast expressions.

Even though, radio announcers do use a variety of other forms including dialects, slang and jargon in their broadcasting they too, develop a unique idiolect that makes their voices and language styles/expressions instantly recognizable.

In broadcasting language reflects two variables : the influence of group identity and group loyalty in the announcer and his listeners - originating in geographical regions and close knit communities ; sociocultural values.

As language is exposed to Radio, it can enhance the language development or destroy it by letting announcers use their own unacceptable ways of speaking. In broadcasting we must always bear in mind that 'language is, nevertheless, a central medium of social communication, cultural cohesion and dissemination' (Whitehead 1990).

Whitehead (1990) noticed that 'the arrival of new inventions and the influences of new forms of mass communication led to a sudden increase in the number of new words in a language. The effect in terms of vocabulary is particularly noticeable with respect to nouns and verbs'. Hence, broadcasting affected the areas of vocabulary and related conceptual ways of thinking.

McLuhan (1969) noted that 'one medium of expression modifies another, one language is changed by contact with another'.

Black radio services are striving to meet the needs of their speakers through a language. We currently find language change at national and at individual level.

On an individual level, most of the black announcers, use more English or Afrikaans words in their broadcasting. This is an influence from those stations which broadcast in English for the black population, namely Radio Metro, Radio Bop and Radio Thohoyandou. In their language usage, they tend to use more new words as variations. Innovations are being absorbed more and more into their respective languages.

Language switching is more frequent in black radio than in their white counterparts and we daily notice more fluent bilingualism occurring at many points during utterances. Sometimes words are switched, sometimes sentences and sometimes phrases within sentences.

With reference to language variation and black broadcasting, these switches can be explained in terms of several possibilities:

1. lack of a word or concept in one language
2. a device to personalize oneself

3. a means of emphasis and clarification when broadcasting
4. association of certain activities and concepts with one language and culture
5. competition created by political changes in South Africa

These possibilities are many and complex. But black radio announcers are presently faced by a situation where things are drastically changing, locally, economically, and politically. Most of their styles, although having some innovations, show more influence of literacy that is heavy in the use of English and Afrikaans words.

3.7. CONCLUSION

Language is the most important tool of human kind. It is the cornerstone of culture, identity and loyalty.

The chapter purposely outlined different types of societies. The reason was that, as our study is solely interested in announcers stylistic creations, there were several related professions preceded by that of the broadcast announcer by centuries or even by millennia.

Therefore, it can be claimed that from oral-aural society to the present electronic society, people have had their 'announcers'. They only differed in their language usage. This concurs with Goody's view that

Speech is no longer tied to an 'occasion', it becomes timeless. Nor is it attached to a person; on paper, it becomes more abstract, more depersonalized.
(Goody 1977:44)

The chapter showed that, we are at present in the process of shifting, from 'literacy to electronic orality' for some social or technological reasons. This transition, like any profound cultural revaluation, is creating serious confusion.

Radio makes non-literate media gain influence at the expense of literacy. We are beginning to see the return of the old virtues. Kirk's view (1965:30) that writing will eventually lead to the disappearance of formulaic expressions is perhaps a little presumptuous, and the view that writing ultimately kills the oral, is questionable.

Like literacy and technology, language has the potential to both create and destroy - and it is intrinsically

neutral until used by the people for particular purposes:
personalising oral communication or entertaining
listeners.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.1 STYLISTIC CREATIONS

4.1.1 Stylistic creations defined

The term 'style' was fully discussed in chapter 1 under 1.3.1.2. Several stylistic techniques for example repetition, rhythm, word-order, imagery as well as their elements namely meaning and syntax were mentioned. It was noticed that there are various concepts of style and the issues are further compounded by the various approaches to the problem of style.

Because of these various scholarly approaches, the definition of style in this study had to be clarified. A conclusion was reached that 'style in this study refers to artistic deviations from the normal or common speech; the use of particular forms or grammatical constructions.

We need to explain in a more sophisticated vein what is meant by 'stylistic creations', or what can be described as 'stylistic creations'.

Stylistic creations are personal idiosyncracies of expression. There is the style of conversation, of discourse directed at an audience (Jousse 1990:281). It conforms to the traditional mnemonic and mnemotechnical devices, as will be seen in our analysis. It is the peculiar and individualistic manner in which the announcer on radio exposes himself and his thoughts so that his message is readily identifiable.

Stylistic creations may be either traditional or individual.

Traditional stylistic creations are those taken from the oral tradition of the announcer concerned. There are announcers who have created or create their own ways of introducing themselves when greeting the listeners by making their own 'praise-names'. These praise-names are sometimes culturally based on some folklore of his clan or ancestors. Others carry some genealogical names. The concerned announcer when introducing himself on air, may use his father's or forefather's name, and make that his own 'praise-name'.

What is mainly realised in traditional stylistic creations is that they are not far from *izibongo* or *izihasho*.

Izibongo (praise-poetry) are compositions which laud the feats, character, physique and personality features of the person or thing about whom they are composed (Turner 1990). Dhlomo (1947:5), explaining *izibongo*, says:

They were used to excite and delight, to appeal to and to appease, to honour and humour a person.

Dhlomo's statement is easily applicable to the way the radio announcers use their own created 'praise-names' on air. Announcers sometimes create their praises just for the appeasing and amusement for their listeners.

Like the language of *izibongo* some of these styles are highly figurative, making extensive use of metaphors.

Once these traditional stylistic creations are used in the radio they tend to be more *izihasho* than fully *izibongo*. One may say they are in a way *izihasho*.

The composition of *izibongo* or *izihasho* is the similar regardless of form, meter or poetic technique used, but content differs.

Explaining *izihasho*, Turner says:

These poems are composed in contemporary times about ordinary people and are called *izihasho*. In this form of *izibongo*, a person may be criticized in a satirical light using the traditionally recognized framework or form of *izibongo*.

(Turner 1990:55)

Unlike the *izibongo* of kings or important people which were composed by an *imbongi* (bard), these *izihasho* in the radio are more of personal compositions, composed by the announcer himself to identify and personalise himself.

These *izibongo* become linked to his/her personality and identity, and they facilitate a sort of recognition and support which are important to his ego and self-image (Turner 1990). To illustrate this one may find an announcer when introducing himself says:

uDumisane ka-Fred Shange

This is Dumisane Shange, the son of Fred (Shange)

This announcer, with no special status or achievements attached to his name, is still imbued with pride in being recognised by his praises. It might happen that there is another Dumisane Shange in his family, but he, in particular, is 'the son of Fred'. Other announcers identify themselves by praising their places of birth, and praising their forefathers and these praises which end up being their *izihasho*.

Izihasho/izibongo, are almost always biographical. Msimang (1981:52) in his article on 'Imagery in Zulu Praise-Poetry', states that the praise-poem is not strictly relied upon to furnish accurate historical records, as many allusions are made in the historical references without any explanatory details. Radio announcers very rarely try to make their historical lives known to audiences.

Secondly, traditional stylistic creations are not far from folktales in spirit. As folktales were traditionally transmitted orally, in a setting far different from that which one encounters in a modern urban environment, one finds that without any knowledge

of the cultural background or reason behind the telling of any particular fable, one may be ignorant of the intended message (Turner 1990).

To illustrate this point, when John Nkomo of Radio Tsonga personalizes himself on air, he normally says:

Hi Mina Izudzamadzedze
XiKwembu xa le matim
 I am the big respected ancestor
 The god of water who stays in water

Such traditional expression or *isihasho* can only be understood if one knows that 'XiKwembu' in the Tsonga oral tradition is the 'god of water'. And that 'god of water' is only respected in the in place:

Wa le ka Ncayincayi
 of the Ncayincayi

Ncayincayi, as far as he explained, is an area somewhere in Mozambique (cf. 4.2.2.5. for more details). These air-personalities used by John Nkomo have become completely unrecognizable and obscure without the research in the history and put customs of time of Tsonga oral tradition.

The second category of stylistic creations are those which are more individualistic. Unlike the traditional stylistic creations which are from one's oral tradition, culturally based on folktales of clan and from genealogical background, individualistic stylistic creations are just announcers' creations:

created around personal names, from other languages, for example English/Afrikaans, from the 'public's creation', that is created by the community and absorbed by radio announcers.

Individualistic styles have no 'formulas' of any special kind, but they do have rhythm. The only individualistic styles which are mostly created with the aid of 'formulas' which are viewed as creations on their own, are those found in sermons. Sermon formulas are based on the Bible together with the creative ability of the preacher. Sermons show formulas like *izibongo* and *sometimes even more so than the izibongo*. (This will be fully discussed in 4.2 below.) The most popular individualistic styles are those centred around personal names. Most announcers even go to the extent of

abbreviating their names or use abbreviations instead of their full names. If an announcer is 'Samuel', he will prefer to identify himself as 'Sam'. One Radio Zulu announcer, whose full name is 'Victor Velaphe Otty' always identifies himself as VVO. Announcers symbolise their social position in relation to their other colleagues or to the people around them. Naming in themselves in a gimmick way is very popular amongst black announcers.

Naming in black society is very important, Evans-Pritchard (Koopman 1986:132) maintains that

The study of names and titles has some importance because ... they symbolize a man's social position in relation to the people around him.

Koopman, in his extensive investigation on social and literary aspects of Zulu personal names, says the European concept is that the name refers to a person; the African concept is that the name is the person.

A good and clear example is that of Radio Xhosa female announcer Zola Patricia Kaso (39), whose stylistic creations are centred around her surname 'Kaso'. On air she calls herself 'Makazi', meaning 'aunt', with a stem *kazi* from her surname 'Kaso'. In her party time programmes she always asks

Uyandibiza Makazi?
Are you calling me aunt?

Also, her favourite stylistic creation in the same programme is

Zala Mazawu Makazi Kaso?

These are just words put together creating a sentence with no meaning but centred around her name 'Zola' for 'Zala', and 'Makazi' for 'Kaso', her true surname.

These examples strongly support Turner's emphasis that:

Psychologically, a person is his name - in Zulu society a person is the cluster of his names, which are the core of his *izibongo*.

(Turner 1990:53)

Other announcers anglicise their names and create styles that might sound either English or Afrikaans. Zolani

Bhongce of Radio Xhosa, calls himself 'Izor-man' or 'Z.B.' which are both from his name 'Zolani'. Another example is the Radio SeSotho announcer, Chomane Chomane (33) who calls himself 'Choms Chomane'.

A Radio SeSotho announcer, Thuso Motaung (34), when personalising himself mostly in his live programmes, says:

Thuso Wa Bana
Thuso of the children

Also, Evidence Kemp (33) of Radio Metro calls himself

Kemp, the One
Nothing else, but the Kemp

From the forgoing above explanation, *izibongo* or *izihasho*, genealogy, folktales, personal names, gimmicks from public creation and words from other foreign languages are the dominant traits of stylistic creations in black broadcasting. These stylistic creations are sometimes accompanied by humour and irony as dominant features, though they depend on the type of a programme.

4.1.2. TYPES OF STYLISTIC CREATIONS

In radio, both in white and black orientated broadcasting, there are two types of stylistic creations. There are those which are just pure words, without a background of music, for which the term 'dry stylistic creations' has been created. Secondly, there are those which are accompanied by special music, specially made for them, with words fitted into the beat and rythm of music. These are normally called 'jingles'. They are here called 'technological stylistic creations'.

Both traditional and individualistic stylistic creations fit in any of the above mentioned styles, depending on the announcer concerned. One announcer may use a traditional style with music in the background or may just leave it dry. Such is mostly experienced with musical 'jingles' which are the station's identity. As almost all of the black services are cultural services, each station may decide to technologise its 'jingles' which will identify the station with the culture or tradition of the people it serves. Other musical 'jingles' may be personally made or recorded by announcers themselves, but they must fit the content of the programme concerned. For instance, the 'jingle' of a traditional musical programme must differ

traditional musical programme must differ totally from the jazz, pop or soul programme and vice versa.

4.1.2.1. DRY STYLISTIC CREATIONS

Dry stylistic creations are 'spontaneous gestures' which occur naturally, either consciously or unconsciously, prolifically determined by the context only. They are governed by 'the deep-seated laws of the human compound of flesh and spirit ...' namely, spontaneity, rhythm and melody (Jousse 1990), the law of automation.

These creations are 'human expressions full of gestures (either physically or mentally), full of melody, full of rhythm, and full of organic function' (Jousse 1990).

These expressions are not supported by any music in the background. The announcer here only identifies himself as a happy, devoted entertainer, who 'creates stable, manageable frameworks whereby to preserve, in living form' (Jousse 1990) all the potentialities of his language.

Dry stylistic creations emanate from announcers' names and surnames. If not, they are just gimmicks which never existed previously and of which even the community is not aware. They are normally said, even in the middle of the radio programme. Seemingly, radio normally sounds as if they are intended to:

Individual identification, encouraging listeners to be involved in the, programme, exciting, amusing or entertaining, create or suggest some face-to-face, communication.

These expressions try to create a direct communication with the listener. They even disturb some serious conversations among listeners if listening together. They are more of conversation of discourse directed to the listeners. They are both individual (spoken style) and traditional (oral style) (Jousse 1990).

Jousse' explanation of oral style coincides with what these styles are:

This oral style, which is designed to be remembered, after simply having been heard, and is recited and transmitted by memory, conforms to the traditional mnemonic and mnemotechnical devices ...

(Jousse 1990:231)

These styles are designed and meant to be easily remembered by listeners. Their shortness and tenseness qualifies them to be easily recited and transmitted by listeners. They act as practical means of intercommunication.

These dry expressions appear in:

1. word form
2. phrase form
3. sentence form

The praise form is the most interesting form, in that it shows the 'law of formulation' which carries some mnemonic devices. Lord (1960) explains that in oral form (praise form) repeated fixed phrases are of greater help to the singer in the rapid composition of his tale when certain metrical conditions are required.

Jousse (1990:6) states that the 'law of formulism' exercises a biological tendency towards the stereotyping of gestures and the creation of habits which ensure immediate, easy and sure replay. It thus becomes a sort of automic psycho-physiological stimulus. Because of

their conciseness, the 'praise form' structure lends itself to the analysis of oral formulaic composition, which shows the presence of elements such as parallelism, assonance, alliteration and repetition, that are peculiar characteristics of the oral style.

In the other three forms, these oral elements cannot be all found at one time. For instance, one may find only a repetition of consonants (alliteration) or assonance but not both, as happens in the praise form. As in oral performance, in these stylistic creations oral poetic characteristics are in fact constantly employed as fixed formulae, to express a definite meaning, and within a predictable context.

Some of the dry stylistic creations are the daily language expressions, but which are used metaphorically, or acquire their meaning from the 'context'.

More than anything they are a play on words, a play on gestures. They originate from announcers, or are picked up from the community, and once used by both the announcer and the community, they show that:

Most of our expressive (gestures), whether their origin is psychological, physiological, or mechanical, have (actually) become (semiological gesticulations), in the sense that we use them all the time in social life to express feelings (mental attitudes) which we experience to a limited degree or not at all.

(Jousse 1990:32)

4.1.2.2. TECHNOLOGISED STYLISTIC CREATIONS

Crisell (1986) maintains that radio codes are purely auditory, consisting of speech, music, sounds and silence. Music on radio seems to be an object of aesthetic pleasure, and is also the mainstay of radio's output.

Realising the importance of music on radio, announcers decided to interface music and words in the creation of their 'air personalities'. They did that with an assurance that 'music does not enshrine the kind of meaning that words do' (Crisell 1986). Technologised stylistic creations are marked by certain songs sung as short songs; always accompanied by background music; lyrics not composed by the concerned announcer. (The announcer may sometimes help in the composition of

lyrics, but mostly it is the group/artist that sings which usually provides lyrics and music); stereotyped and repetitive and rhythmical and full of melody.

These styles are normally in the form of 'jingles' and their function is to identify the station, to identify the announcer concerned, to identify the programme or content of the programme and to work as signature tunes.

Here, we find music, as medium, used in another medium.

This fact, characteristic of all media, means that the 'content' of any medium is always another medium. The content of writing is speech, just as the written word is the content of print, and print is the content of the telegraph.

(McLuhan 1964:8)

Technologised stylistic creations are not always composed by the announcer as it happens with dry stylistic creations. They are either composed and recorded in professional studios, and later sent to the respective announcer or ordered from a musician or musical group.

There is, however, a close relationship between the two styles. Firstly, the dry and technological compositions

emanate from dry stylistic creations. An artist or musical group may recreate in music, the announcer's own rhythmic style and send a jingle to the announcer. Secondly, they are sometimes formulaic like the dry stylistic creations. But they differ from dry stylistic creations only in that they are individualistic and not traditional. They may be centred around the announcer's name, but no praising is involved. Unlike the dry stylistic creations, they are played as musical items, are played at the beginning of the programme and are never played in the middle of the song, as they are also musically supported

Because of their function, they may be variously described as 'frame' conventions (Goffman 1980) or 'boundary rituals' (Fiske and Hartley 1978), as they establish the beginnings and ends of programmes. Technologised stylistic creations support McLuhan's (1967) statements that 'music shall fill the air' and not 'music shall fill a particular segment of the air'.

Technologised stylistic creations should not be seen as 'new technology - new environment that makes the old one

into hi-fi archetype' (McLuhan 1967:33), but must be taken as the environment where the 'word' firstly is winged through electrification, and immediately thereafter is sung, which is, in total, twice removed from its pure reality.

Because they are being sung, they involve everybody in the consequences of every event. They need not entertain a perculiar listener (as it may happen with dry stylistic creations) but every groups or community. They create a 'new factor of total involvement of each of us in the lives and actions of all.'

Here we find announcers switching from oral to 'musicalised' electronic communication. The 'word' finds itself 'winged' twice: by radio, and by music. It gets sung, not alone but with some musical instruments.

This switching is not an exaggeration as

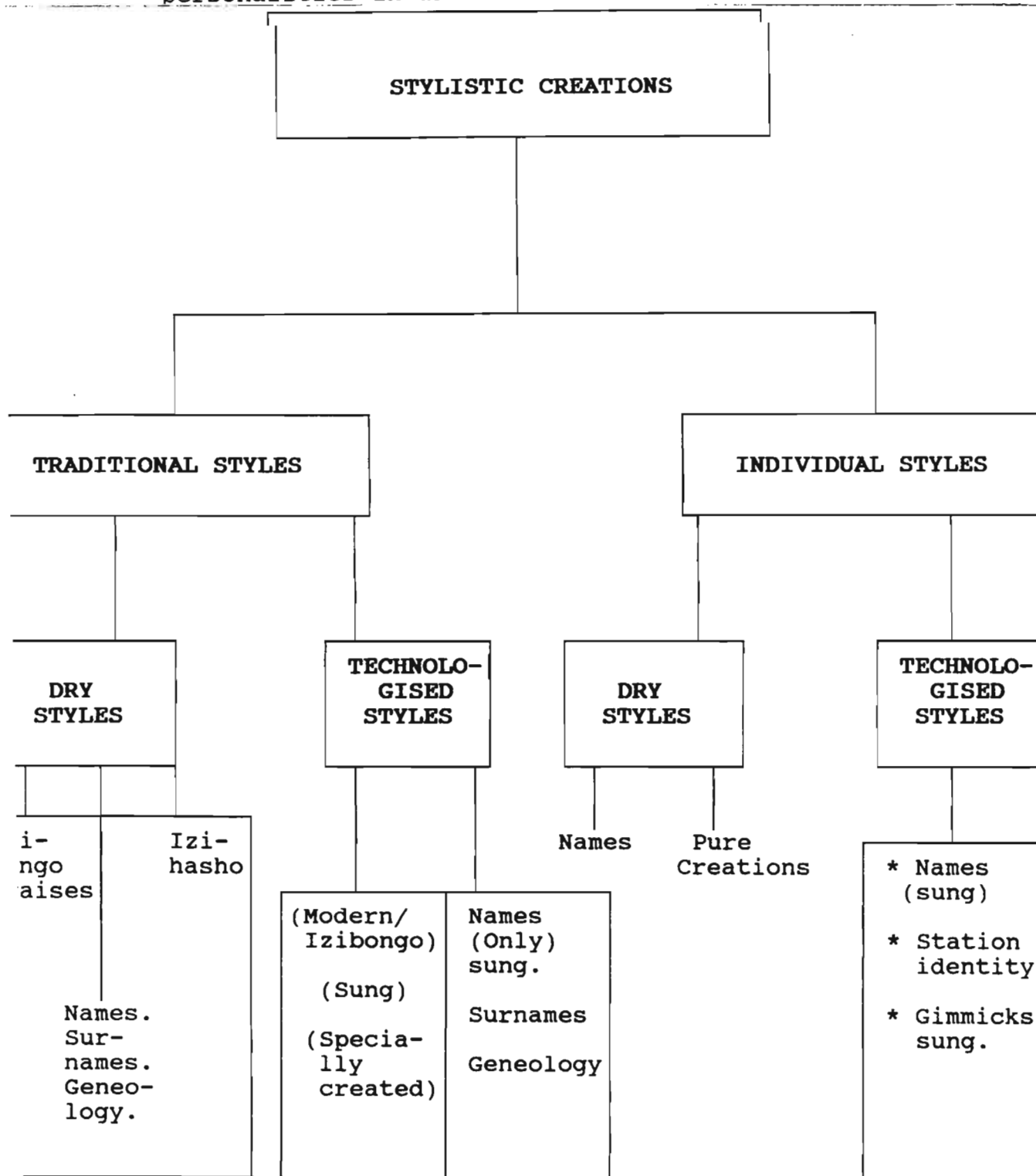
In practice, people switch from oral to written to electronic communication and back from personally generated to mass-media forms, without any sense that there is some radical change involved or that they are somehow thereby moving in different kinds of 'social space'.

(Finnegan 1988:143)

Technologised stylistic creations, may be seen as one media (music) used in another media, radio. It is not the case of literacy replacing oral communications or electronic media.

This interaction of words and music in the creation of technologised stylistic creations shows us a new oralism that enriches the wringing of words in broadcasting, not only in South Africa, but internationally.

Below is an analysis of stylistic creations/air personalities in different radio stations.



This schema shows that we are working in a continuum of man's artistic expression of words. It shows twice the strength and mixture of both traditional and individual patterns of expression. It clearly shows that even though we may divide these styles as outlined above, there is an interface among them.

This shows the change from the 'oral' to the written style and back to oral and 'sung oral' styles.

Like the *izibongo* (praise), these stylistic creations only exist in performance. The announcer composes and performs them only behind the microphone.

Like a bard,

He is the tradition, he is one of the integral parts of that complex; for us, as undoubtedly for his own audiences, he is the most gifted and fascinating part of that tradition.

(Lord 1960:147)

The announcer here can be seen as a 'practical oral poet' (Lord 1960) in that he is the 'integral parts of a heavy complex' full of interfaces, namely, mechanical

technology, broadcasting tradition and own oral tradition.

These styles do not transfer or transmit the 'old oralism' into a 'new oralism', but they make 'words' convey information 'within a broader context of shared knowledge which respects the primacy of interpersonal relationships' (Frielick 1991).

4.2 AN ANALYSIS OF STYLISTIC CREATIONS IN BLACK BROADCASTING

INTRODUCTORY PERSPECTIVE

The analysis of stylistic creations in this section will focus on different types of programmes that black radio services broadcast. Radio is active in the electronic media, nationally and in the regions, to implement the SABC's corporate mission¹ as broadcaster and producer. In addition, radio functions as advertising medium for the South African economy. As broadcaster, radio obtains, schedules and broadcasts audio programmes; and as producer, it produces audio programmes for broadcasting and marketing.

Black orientated services of the SABC are all national/regional, cultural services, unlike white

¹The SABC's corporate mission is: as broadcaster, obtains, schedules and broadcasts audio programmes; as producer, produces audio programmes for broadcasting and marketing.
All 23 radio services of the SABC are striving to be active in the electronic media country-wide, both nationally and in regions, trying to support this corporate mission as broadcaster and producer.

orientated services which may be national, e.g. Radio South Africa, or regional, e.g. Jacaranda, Oranje, Port Natal and many others. The analysis showed that radio provides

entertainment/music programmes, which include variety and entertainment, educational programmes, which include discussions, language and cultural drama, magazines, informal and formal programmes, which include religious (sermons), sports, public affairs, news, publicity, documentaries, promotions and marketing.

which is the corporate mission of the SABC.

The analysis of stylistic creations here will follow these three types of programmes. We will look at how many styles are found in each of them. Our analysis will be categorized into musical programmes and sermons.

Musical programmes reveal the innovative ability of an announcer, whereas sermons or devotions show use of formulas, incremental repetition, patterned language, participation of the congregation or audience. Sermons will be examined as examples of oral composition within a literary or written context. Sermons clearly reveal the preacher's dependence on formulaic phrases and his or her verbalization must be seen to be a process of creation rather than a rote memorization (not a verbal recall). In this regard, Rosenberg (1969, 1970a, 1970b, 1971, 1974a, 1975), who has studied the survival of the old orality in American folk preachers, is here applicable.

4.2.2. SOTHO GROUP

4.2.2.1. Stylistic Creations in Radio SiSotho

Radio SeSotho is a public service presently broadcasting to approximately 1 142 million people. The announcers who have more innovations in Radio SeSotho are Thuso Motaung (31), Chomane Chomane (37), Sothane SAP (36) and Tsidiso Leballo (35)(no longer with Radio SeSotho but with CCV TopSport). These announcers are the top presenters of musical programmes in Radio SeSotho.

Thuso Motaung presents *Top 20* every Saturday evening, while *Nthabiseng* (Monday to Friday) and *Makgucong A Matala* present a similar programme (every Sunday). Thuso's *Top 20* was formerly presented by Tsidiso Leballo while he was with Radio SeSotho presenting the programme *Metlae*. Chomane Chomane presents *Re Hleka Sebae* (Sweeping the Yards) every Saturday, and *Kegtsie Ya Dimo* (Pick a Box Show) on Mondays. Sothane SAP presents *Mafokotsane a Mase* (International Songs) daily and *Motjhotjhonono*.

Motaung's Stylistic Creations

1. *Bana Ba o Shebile*
The Children are watching you
2. *Shapila Fatshe*
Get down to a lower gear
3. *O Ketsang*
What are you doing?
4. *Thuso wa Bana*
Thuso of the children
5. *Malome wa Mafahla*
Uncle of the twins
6. *O tla utseba jwang*
How will you know me?
7. *Thuso bapula, o ba thube*
Thuso play on and crash them

8. *Ba diradio Matsohong* (jingle)
Whenever I am on air people carry their radios
9. *Hela Mmanyeo theoha - thesha o tho mamela*
Even you on top of the mountain (even Mmanyeo) come down
and listen
10. *Sututsa Musututsa*
Push (Mr) Push/Pushman
11. *Thuso Mokgotsi waka e kaba o kae?*
Thuso my friend where are you?

Analysis

The above stylistic creations from Thuso Motaung prove him to be an announcer who broadcasts for all age groups. Not only does he concentrate on the youth (*Bana*/youth/children), he also invites even those who are faraway in rural places (see Line 9). In Basotholand, there are people who live on the mountains. Such people are still oral and still herding cattle and perform all their customary rituals. (Kunene 1968). Here, Thuso invites them and their leader, *Mmanyeo*, to come and listen to their favourite DJ. This goes with his encouragement that people have got to listen to the radio because it is the most powerful instrument (Line 8).

Thuso uses more 'dry stylistic creations' than 'technologised' ones. Thuso's 'dry stylistic creations' are directed mostly at the urban youth, who are the night club patrons. Lines 1-5 are directed more at the youth. Line 3 might be partly directed at any listener. It might ask both the young and the old what they are doing, either physically or mentally; it may ask questions like: Are you dancing?, Are you sleeping? or: are you just sitting down relaxed? It is more of a challenging 'style' to the audience or listener. Lines 4 and 5 really personalize this announcer. He is not the Thuso Motaung you know, but *Thuso wa Bana* (Thuso of the children) and *Malome wa Mafahla*. By (using) this he is 'retaining his individuality' (Hyde 1983) and tries to be unique from his other colleagues in the station.

Thuso, in his creation of his styles, uses either the *first* or the *third* person. This shows a relationship between radio styles and the composition of *izibongo*. Gunner (1984) noticed there is the use of both the *first* and *third* person in King Zwelitini's *izibongo* composition. Line 6 of Thuso's expressions is more personalized and nominalized by an initial *O* - *O tla utseba Jwang?* (How will you know me?) Whereas Line 11 sounds as if its a second or third person that asks the question. It sounds as if it is the listener, not Thuso, who is asking the question to his imaginary friend, Thuso.

If we take a close look at line 11:

Thuso Makgotsi Waka e Kaba o Kae?
Thuso, my friend, where are you?

We realize that there are phonological and grammatical alternatives which have been used to achieve rhythm and melody in this expression; namely *e* and *o*. These show some constraints of form which operate in the composition of announcers styles like in *izibongo*.

The formation of these 'stylistic creations' may involve deviation from standard language like in *izibongo* (Mkhize 1990). Jakobson, with reference to *izibongo* in general, makes the point that:

The phonology and grammar of oral poetry offer a system of complex elaborate correspondences which come into being, take effect, and are handed down through generations without anyone's cognizance of the rules governing this intricate work.
(Jakobson 1970:15)

The other phonological and grammatical constraints that are noticeable in these Radio expressions, like in *izibongo*, and assonance. The announcer uses this

to create more rhythm and melody in his compositions. Lines 1, 5, 7, 10 and 11 of Thuso's styles are good examples of this.

The forms ba-, o-, ba- of bana are concords controlled by noun prefixes. Ba (line 1) is controlled by the plural noun prefix Bana. The same applies in other lines (L3, L8). Such patterns make 'stylistic creations' (like oral poetry) different from normal speech or conversation.

Such creations show that the announcer is like a bard who is 'not a conscious iconoclast, but a traditional creative artist; his traditional style also has individuality' (Lord 1960:5).

Thuso Motaung's creations are more individualistic than traditional. Besides having only one technologised stylistic creation, there are no signs of English or Afrikaans influence in his creations.

Thuso's creations show that 'the function of the individual is not merely to act as a carrier of

tradition, but also to maintain it by using it, by re-creating it' (Kentia 1958:32). Lord (1960:148) has also stressed 'the creative role of the singer in carrying forward the tradition'.

It was mentioned earlier that these creations are there to 'personalise' the announcer and to clarify the link between the audience and otherwise incomprehensible sounds, noise or silence (Hyde 1983). To achieve this, almost all their creations get centred around their names. Three (3) of Thuso's creations include his name (Lines 4, 7 and 11). Line 5 (Malome wa mafahla) defines his relationship to the members of society. He is not the brother, father or a friend but the uncle of the twins.

Evans-Pritchard (Koopman 1986:132) explains that

Names of all kinds are social documents, which fix a person's position in the social structure and define his relations to other members of society.

Such usage of names proves that 'psychologically, a person is his name, s/he is the cluster of his names', (Turner 1990).

Chomane Chomane's Stylistic Creations

Chomane Chomane (37) is a presenter of two programmes on Radio SeSotho, excluding studio continuity programmes which rotate to all announcers of this service. His regular programmes are (1) *Re Hleka Sebae* [Sweeping the yards], which is broadcast every Saturday. It is a marriage/wishing you-well programme and (2) *Kegetsi ya Dimo*. This is the pick-a-box programme which is broadcast on Monday evenings.

His stylistic creations are

1. *Choms Chomane*

2. *Sesa*

swimming

3. *Keya Sesa Ngwanaka*

I am swimming my baby

Analysis

Chomane's stylistic creations differ from those of his colleague Thuso. They are all dry and non-

technologized styles. It is even difficult to ascertain whether they are traditional or individualistic. The creation, *Choms Chomane* is his first name abbreviated, and his surname. Here he is extending his identity rather than praising himself. The fact that he contracted his personal name which incidentally coincided with his surname, shows a creative use of alliteration and assonance through that he is imbued with pride in being recognised by his creation' (Turner 1990).

Chomane might have done this to let people easily recognise him easily. Chester et al noticed that

If individuality, or show-business 'colour', is lacking, audiences may accept the message without remembering the person.

(Chester et al 1978:291)

Comparing Thuso's creations and Chomane's creations, one realizes that 'each announcer has to determine the particular style best suited to him or her' (Chester et al 1978). Chapter one (i.e. 1.3) briefly outlined that these conversational styles, as they are based on words, may sometimes be either 'empty', crowded or 'live' words.

Looking at the 'air personality', 'Sesa' (swimming) one may not easily understand what the announcer is intending to say. *Sesa* out of context has no meaning. *Sesa* in the context of musical programmes may mean either:

1. "Come along. Let's groove with our music", or
2. "Let's get happy and enjoy"

Grammatically, *Sesa* is a verb, that is, it is a 'live word' but its use makes it sound as if it is an 'empty word'. Even in the stylistic creation '*Keya sesa ngwonaku*' (I am swimming my baby) should be interpreted from the context in which it is used. Even such interpretation will mean a shift of meaning from its original meaning to the contextual meaning.

However, there is an important difference between words which are written or printed on a page and words on a radio (Crissel 1986). A person swims if and only if it's hot! The same meaning of this creation may mean 'It's hot' or You are hot, but I can freshen you, or can make things colder for you that is through

music or my good choice of music.

Chomane's listeners will not have problems understanding this *sesa*. His fans will easily understand this term. Choms Chomane's stylistic creations invite participation and involvement from an audience in order to fully understand their meaning.

Sothoane's stylistic creations

Sothoane presents '*Mafakotsane a mose*' in which he plays international songs, and '*motjhotjhono*', which refers to Halley's comet.

He has only one style which was found to be a technologised creation. In this creation there is always a telephone ring after which he says his 'slogan'. In this programme, Sothoane phones the people and moves to create fun and jokes with them. With an echo in the background he says 'SAP'. This 'SAP' stands for his full names.

Psychologically, a person is his name and this can be seen as an ongoing contemporary counterpart of the traditional oral poetry.

Krige (1950:74) maintains that as a child, a person is given a principal name or 'great name' by which he is known to his parents. But, Turner further noticed that

Besides this name, he is given a name which is coined when he begins to *giya* (improvised dance which is performed when praising, usually mimicking war movements). Thereafter, a new name is taken on reaching adulthood and this is added to by other names which bear comment on certain deeds, characteristics and achievement. In some cases these names are expanded on and become incorporated into the person's praises.
(Turner 1990:56)

The statement is also true of 'names' as created by announcers. SAP might be Sothoane's new name after reaching adulthood. In Radio Zulu, we have a very good example of this. *Nzimande Welcome* is nationally known as *Bhodloza*, which does not even appear in his identity book. It is perhaps only a name that he got when reaching adulthood or from the radio itself. It has now been incorporated into his personal names.

Sothoane's official initials are SA but (maybe) to make it sounds more interesting he added onto it the

letter 'P' which has now been incorporated in his name, but originally was not there.

Sothoane's stylistic creation SAP, sounds more like meaningless sound effect which shows that radio does not only use words and music in its broadcast, but also sound effects. Crisell once commented 'radio has nothing but different kinds of *sounds*' (Crisell 1986:84).

Even though this is a technologised stylistic creation, it does not have music in background, but rather a 'telephone ring'. This alone gives us a new definition of technologised stylistic creations, that they consist of music, sounds or sound-effects. Both music and sound are the mainstay of radio's output (Crisell 1986).

Leballo's stylistic creations

Tseliso Leballo (35) used to present the following programmes: Top Twenty, Soccer and *Metlae*. Although a graduate, he, too is traditional in his creations. He used to call himself 'the music man' which is a very

popular name for almost all announcers (See 5.5. for further discussion).

His most popular creation was

Sethoholo sa mamagetla
Le dula le keketeha
ngwana setsoha la pelo ya maobone
 I am the grandchild of Mamokgetla
 The ever smiling one
 The one who never changes

Analysis

Tseliso, when saying this expression on air, sounds as if he is praising himself. He normally says it whenever he starts his programme, especially the 'Top Twenty'. If there is a record that 'moves' him, you will also hear him saying this expression in the middle of the song.

In this expression, Tseliso is mainly interested in informing people who his father or forefather is. This artistic expression of words is centred around the genealogy. He is not only praising but giving us the name of this forefather. He (Tseliso) is the grandson of *Mamokgetla*. He is also a kind and ever-

smiling DJ, the one who never changes, because he is like this *Mamokgetla* who was ever smiling and kind. This expression shows some mixture of traditional and individual patterns of expression.

Such use of genealogy originates from *izibongo*.

Genealogy is at least sometimes employed purely as stylistic embellishment by the creative raconteur bent on telling a good story, or needing to sound authoritative by the mentioning of repeated names from the oral tradition.

(Johnson 1986:4)

Mamokgetla might be used as stylistic embellishment', or the Tseliso wants to sound 'authoritative' by his mentioning of *Mamokgetla* which is from his Sotho oral tradition which is respected by all of the Sotho tribe.

Although we are dealing with the new oralism, the old oral tradition still exists:

... radio, television and various kinds of sound tape, electronic technology has brought us into the age of 'secondary orality'. This new orality has striking resemblances to the old in its participatory mystique, its fostering of a communal sense, its concentration on the present moment ... in a sense orality has come into its

own more than ever before. But it is not the old orality.

(Ong 1982:136-137)

The use of genealogy in radio is more effective powerful evocative significant than it is when used in front of an audience when its being said by the *imbongi* (bard). The bard's audience is limited when compared to that of the announcer. It is not only the people of the region that will know that Tseliso is the grandson of *Mamokgetla*, but also the approximate million listeners who listen to Radio SeSotho.

Such use of the genealogy shows how Tseliso retains his individuality and he is reflects his personality.

Hyde argues that:

True communication as an announcer begins when you learn who you are, reflect yourself in your delivery, and know that you are speaking to individuals, not to a crowd.

(Hyde 1983:19)

These stylistic creations, especially those which are centred around names such as those of Thuso Motaung and Choms Chomane, show some sort of social identity. This social identity is made to be co-existent with

personal identity. The individual here identifies himself by centring his stylistic creations around his name or surname.

Juhasz, discussing social identity in the context of human and personal identity, said:

Human identity, or as it is more commonly known, human nature, is the ground from which our social identities are carved by our interactions with other human beings.

(Juhasz 1983:289)

We may conclude that the announcer, by centring his stylistic creations around his name, is trying to gain a certain social identity through social promotion or showing those acquired by right of birth.

4.2.2.2. Stylistic Creations on Radio Setswana

Radio Setswana broadcasts from Pretoria and is presently under the Northern Transvaal Broadcasting Service, in the New SABC. In Radio Setswana two announcers were discovered to be innovative in their broadcasting. Aubrey Motloun (32) from Moietwane in Britz, presently residing in Garankuwa, was found to

have more than artistic expressions in his broadcasting. The second announcer is Peter Kgatswa (34) from Rustenberg and also presents residing in Garonkuwa, who was found to have two stylistic creations.

Aubrey Motlounq's Stylistic Creations

Aubrey Motlounq (32) presently with Radio Setswana, presents Radio Setswana Top 20 every Sunday evening and sports programmes on Saturday and Sunday afternoons. He also presents studio live continuity musical programmes.

Motlounq was discovered to be the top Radio Setswana announcer and he has eleven stylistic creations.

These stylistic creations seem to differ from those of Radio SeSotho in six ways:

1. They are not centred around his name or surname.
2. They are all dry and individualistic.
3. There are no technologised stylistic creations.
4. There are no traditional creations.
5. Some carry heavy incremental repetition of sounds, namely alliteration or assonance, and parallelism.
6. They are from the Setswana language and carry no outside foreign influence.

Analysis

Motloung's stylistic creations clearly show that he is involved with musical programmes most of his time.

His styles

Tsatsi la dikatara
Tsatsi la Saterdag
Tsatsi la matsameko
 Day of guitars (of grooving)
 Day of Saturday
 Day of sports

show his attachment to musical programmes. In Setswana language the word *tsatsi* means 'the day'. In his top twenty programme, Aubrey keeps on mentioning these expressions which in a way informs his listeners that this is the day of guitars/sports, Saturday, and the listener enjoys it because its made for entertainment.

In this expression parallelism and alliteration are used in portraying the whole oral traditional structure of *Izibongo*. Sounds like 'ts' and 'l' are examples of alliteration. Such alliteration creates a rhythm which makes this expression continue ringing in

the ears of the listener. The syntactic structure similarities in tsatsi la and its meaning/paired concept clearly shows that we are dealing here with 'synonymous parallelism'.

Synonymous parallelism in oral composition

... strongly establishes the feeling of correspondence between A and B. Indeed the more stereotypical the pairing, the greater the bond with the most frequently used pairs; the appearance of the first in itself creates the anticipation of its fellow, and when the latter comes it creates a harmonious feeling of completion and satisfaction.

(Kugel 1981:29)

A close analysis of parallelism in this expression leads us to realise that they form one continuous sentence.

Tsatsi la dikara, la Saterdag, la matsameko
Day of guitars/grooving, Saturday, of sports.

Black announcers seem to have their special methods of calling commercials in their programmes. Motlounq too has his own expressions of calling a commercial.

Examples are:

Ke ya kefa

I am going this way (for example switching to a commercial)
Ke a keba
 I am bending over (for something else)
Ke tseo
 Here they come

These three expressions are parallel; and their meaning is far removed from their context as *ke a keba* means to 'bow down', *ke tseo* means 'this is it', 'that is it' or 'here they come'.

Such use of words or word pairs supports what Dudek noticed in broadcast announcing:

Words are by nature ambiguous, not transparent, and susceptible to multiple interpretations. This fact often makes the meaning of any word in a particular use doubtful and uncertain. One word has to carry the burden of several meanings.
 (Dudek 1982:23)

This clearly shows that too many words would be needed to name every thing, action and their characteristics. Therefore, by the process of extensions, words take on somewhat related meanings. Here, it can be claimed that Motlounq assigned additional, if not new, meanings to these old phrases.

In the field of broadcasting, Dudek (1982) argues that using context in the determination of meaning might create some problems or dangers:

Context is generally an invaluable guide to limiting the meaning of words that are already familiar to the announcer in one sense or more. But context is a measling guide with words whose meaning the announcer does not know.
(Dudek 1982:25)

and further

Another danger in using the context to determine meaning arises because words in a context have either literal or figurative meaning.
(Dudek 1982:25)

Kefa and Keba have been used in these expressions in a totally different way. They do not mean what they 'normally' mean in general conversation. This indicates that the announcer, like a poet or bard, does not change the words merely for variety, but uses them to hook his listeners/audience and keep them listening up to the end of the programme as this happens to the imbongi's audience.

Other examples which seem to resemble the above phrase though not exactly are the following:

O a katakata
 He is retreating/going backwards
Go katakata ga se go sia
 To retreat is not to run away
Ke go tsaya plaka
 Retreating to get more energy/
 It is to go back for more pluck

O a katakata is originally from *go katakata ga se go sia* (to retreat). What we notice here is some development in the use of words. Interesting here is the semantic sequence of words builds up towards climax. Firstly, he is informing the listener that he is retreating (*o a katakata*), but his retreating is not to run away (*go katakata ga se go sia*), but to get more energy (*ke go tsaya plaka*).

The repetition of consonants or syllables in the words of these expressions seems to serve little purpose except for being ornamental.

Explaining the significance of repeated words in poetic compositions, Ntuli says:

A repeated word becomes more indispensable when the poet has changed its morphological form by using affixes and other devices, and retained only its roots.

(Ntuli 1984:196)

The subjectival concords *o a-* in *o a katakata* causes a change of morphological structure of the word *go katakata*, by the deletion of *go-*. Such deletion shows some dynamism in the usage of words by the radio.

There is another, perhaps more important meaning related to the expression '*ke go tsaya plaka*'. *Plaka* is derived from a tsotsi word '*pluk*'. There is a tsotsi slogan or idiom which says '*to take a pluk*', means to do something that will give you more power to face or do something. Normally, this idiom applies when somebody drinks liquor for the sake of gaining courage to do or say something to somebody else who he/she is afraid of.

This expression has been used as meaning '*to go and get more power or energy*'. This shows a kind of an interface or influence from another dialect or slang. This *plaka* has more figurative meaning than explicit, literal meaning.

Explaining literal and figurative meaning in the usage of words in broadcasting or announcing, Dudek says:

Literal meaning is the explicit, primary meaning - the normal reference to the word. Figurative meaning, on the other hand, is an implied, suggested - metaphorical - meaning.
(Dudek 1982:25)

He further warns that

Announcers must be continually aware that all words possess explicit and implied meanings: literal and figurative, denotative and connotative, both objective and subjective. Some words carry more of one kind of meaning than the other.
(Dudek 1982:28)

Aubrey Motlounq has only one expression that is centred around his name. He took only the 'root' of his surname and calls himself:

Tlou ya twiki
Slender elephant

Tlou is the root of Motlounq. This can be categorised as an oxymoron which is a very rare figure of speech in oral compositions. But such an air personality suggests an ability to arouse curiosity (Dudek 1982).

We have discussed examples which illustrate Motlounq's usage of words in radio. He uses different and interesting methods of repetitions. Some are in line with those found in traditional oral compositions, but others are his own individual compositions. He uses many varieties which frequently adds modifications so that the repetition should not sound monotonous.

Peter Kgatswe's stylistic creations

Peter Kgatswe (34) is another Radio Setswana announcer who was found to have artistic expressions in his broadcasting. His place of birth is Rustenberg and he is presently residing in Garankuwa. He does not have many styles except that he is conscious about the development of his Tswana language. He likes using archaic words, with no foreign elements.

In his stylistic creations he uses words in their purest and authentic form, and capitalises on the sound of the word. He takes the word as it sounds. There are only two (2) expressions that we noted, mostly featuring in his live programmes. They are

Mogasi wa gago yo a tlhwatlhwa
 Your most precious announcer/DJ
Tshaba go tshabiwe
 Run, so that we too can run/
 Flee, there is fleeing

Analysis

Almost all announcers have their own ways of greeting their listeners when introducing their programmes. They also have individual ways of saying goodbye at the end of their programmes. 'Dankie Khazi' (Thank you, my brother) seems to be the common way of greeting listeners and thanking colleagues (this will be further discussed in connection with other announcers below). But Kgatswe has his own special way of greeting or introducing himself as 'a precious announcer'. The selection of rhythmic words makes Kgatswe's expression more appealing. The repetition of the sound 'g' and the word with the repeated sound of 'tlhw' passes the message over more easily. Such a choice of words shows deep knowledge of one's language. As an artist, he proves that he cannot be limited in the devices he wants to employ.

Kgatswe here is not worried about any social identity or status, but is mostly concerned about excluding himself from the other announcers as the valuable one.

In his introduction, Kgatswe does not forget that the listener is his target. He cannot go alone or talk alone but the listener must join him and run this race, for example the programme. Hence

Tshaba go tshabiwe
Run, so that we too can run/
Flee, there is fleeing

What is noticed here is that although Kgatswe is creating his style, he does not forget the richness of his language. Note the repetition of sounds 'tsh' in Tshaba and Tshabiwe. Such creation supports Marcel Jousse when he said:

Man in an oral milieu is a mouth that recites and retains.

(Jousse 1989:243)

Kgatswe , whilst reciting to his listeners, is retaining the oral traditional richness of his language. Any listener listening to Kgatswe cannot ignore the aesthetic echo effects produced by such

repetition of sounds. This announcer is describing something harmonious or orderly by using these rhythmic sounds. Such usage of sounds may be taken as redundant, repetition of the just-said, but which keeps both the speaker and hearer on track. If such an expression is heard on the radio, it proves that, we provide a visual accompaniment' (McLuhan 1964:267). Therefore, the announcer here is demanding complete participation of the listener, unlike when these words are written or printed on a page.

Kgatswe's stylistic creations are not at all technologised but they are dry and individualistic. To him, sounds in words seem to be more important than the word itself. Therefore, Kgatswe purposely chose to use a distinctive and instantly recognized style of speaking by choosing words with alliteration. Concerning good use of words in broadcasting, O'Donnell et al say:

A radio announcer who lacks familiarity with the pronunciation and usage of words will often appear foolish.

(O'Donnell et al 1987:11)

Radio Setswana stylistic creations possess more features or devices of oral compositions, namely parallelism, alliteration and assonance. They are largely derived from the existing words in a language and the announcers seem to use rhythmic features that exists in their language.

4.2.2.3. Stylistic Creations in Radio Lebowa

Radio Lebowa broadcasts in the Northern Sotho language (Pedi) and is presently under the Far North broadcasting region in the New SABC.

Radio Lebowa has twenty two announcers and our research showed that only five announcers are more innovative in their broadcasting. Most of these announcers present music programmes, either traditional, pop or disco music.

F M Sethosa's Stylistic Creations

Sethosa is presently known as 'Zizi' by his listeners or fans. He is from Geyser in the Pietersburg district and presently stays at Lebowakgoma. He

presents almost all of the top programmes of Radio lebowa, most of which are musical. The following are examples:

1. *Dumela Magwena* (Youth requests)
2. *Di a Duma* (Party time programme)
3. *Ditsopela* (The best of our music)
4. *Tsa Manyalo* (Marriage requests)
5. *Sebokubeku* (Pick-a-box programme)
6. *Re a lotsha* (Up tempo music - request programme)
7. *Di sa le Malekelekeng* (Top Twenty musical programme)

There are also many other programmes that he presents like sports, youth and academic programmes.

Analysis

Sethosa has six stylistic creations in all. His expressions can be divided into three styles, namely, those centred around his name; those which are totemic; those referring to adverts or if he wants to go commercial.

Zizi has only one technologised stylistic creation, whereas others are dry and either individualistic or traditional.

Whenever Zizi introduces himself on air, he calls himself 'Zizi' or 'Zizi-Rethea'. Neither of these words are derived from his first names and they have nothing to do with them. The word 'Rethea' does not even exist in the Northern Sotho language or any Sotho language. It sounds as if it is a word created by the announcer. According to him, 'Zizi-Rethea' represents jubilation, which means that when Zizi comes on air, everybody must be happy. Zizi is not only creating an individual identity but 'the individual sense of self that we have all our lives' (Juhasz 1983).

Sethosa's naming of himself as Zizi has created three forms from which he can be seen, namely, special listeners with whom he has regular contact when on air; the circle of friends and intimates with whom he associates; mixing with colleagues and people in the profession (even his bosses know him as 'Zizi' rather than Sethosa. In the whole region he is called by this name).

Rethea in our word categorisation is an empty word as far as Northern Sotho language lexicon is concerned. But Zizi gave it meaning, the way it is used daily on air over the radio. Perhaps Sethosa was aware that every announcer, when personalizing himself on air, creates or composes styles which are attached or centred around their names. But here he wanted to differ in order to prove that:

The top professionals strive not to be duplicates cast from one mold. Rather, they are their individual selves making the most of their assets.
(Dudek 1982:150)

To make more of his assets, like his personality, he further names himself, '*Fora Bafana*'. '*Fora*' means France and '*Bafana*' is a Zulu word for 'boys'. The expression reminds his listeners that he is the boy from France so 'let boys go to France'. But, there is some ambiguity in this expression. Firstly, even in the broadcasting or announcing context, *Fora Bafana* sounds like an empty phrase. Secondly, it raises some doubts or questions on why the announcer particularly refers to France? Has he been there? Is the music he plays from France? On what grounds has he chosen this

country? Lastly, why choose a Zulu word 'bafana' whilst he is broadcasting in Pedi? The invitation to guess is what some scholars view as the best addition of variety on one's programme (Hyde 1971, 1983).

Dudek, one of the scholars in professional broadcasting, encourages announcers that, in their programmes, they must

Dream up ways to involve the listeners directly in the show: get them guessing, calling in, as well as actively attentive and emotionally responsive to your show.

(Dudek 1982:164)

Such an expression, catches the listener and lets him/her participate more through listening and dancing to the music of the show.

Zizi's air gimmicks seem to develop in a dramatic way. For example after that curiosity from the listener about *Fora Bafana*, he reveals an air personality that serves as a magnet to gain the listeners recognition of his own states in a particular society or clan. For example, he is Zizi, Zizi-Rethea or 'Maputla-a-Thamaga'. Maputla-a-Thamaga is an 'isithakazelo',

which is literally translated as 'clan praises'. Praising is one of the most important cultural practices in Africa. 'Clan praises are the property of a group of people, the members of the clan, and they are shared by every member' (Turner 1991).

Turner, commenting on *isithakazelo*, says:

Clan praises are performed in a wide range of situations. The clan praises are normally recited before an audience, be it just immediate members of a family or numerous clan members at an occasion, such as a wedding ... Clan praises are recited apart from respectful greetings, as the main means of identification, in circumstances of consolation or comforting, as an expression of appreciation and congratulations ...
(Turner 1991:127)

Maputhla-a-Thamaga is like a summary record of the history of Sethosa's clan. Like most of the clan praises, the content of this *isithakazelo* is highly 'metaphorical and allusive' (Turner 1991). Although this is used in the radio, Zizi is applying it in polite conversation as a personal name. His use of this *isithakazelo* on radio does not necessarily mean that he is misusing it, since, even in the black culture, *isithakazelo* was

... common to every member of the clan, which was usually the personal name of some ancient celebrity thereof and is now applied properly, only in polite conversation, to any clansman who, by being called after him, fell participatory in his glory.

(Bryant 1963:15)

Maputla-a-Thamaga is an echo or re-echo of the history of this clan. What we gathered from our research is that this clan of the Sethosa's has an association with monkies, baboons or leopards.

In Radio Setswana, we noticed that some announcers have their own styles or expressions of referring to commercial spots or if they want to take a commercial spot. Sethosa has two expressions for this, namely '*Ke a putla*' (I am passing over) and '*Gata O Gatoga*' (Hurry up!). *Ke a putla* has a literal meaning that *Gata O Gatoga* does not have. The meaning of this expression has been shifted. Literally *Gata O Gatoga* means to hurry up to work. Here the announcer may be referring to the listener. But here it is used in another totally different context - that of referring to an advertisement or a commercial spot. To the mind of the listener, it may create two meanings, firstly,

'hurry to work, its getting late' and secondly, 'lets (listeners) listen quickly to this advert or commercial spot. The morphological structure of *Gata O Gatoga* is more than that of *Ke a putla*. The alliteration, for example repetition of the sound 'ga', creates this rhythmic pattern. Such usage of sounds in one's language shows artistic or skilled verbalisation (Ong 1967:201).

However, rhythmic sound, or harmonious sound in a word, must harmonise with the expression. It must not be artificial, yet it must make the word or expression differ from the everyday conversation.

R N Sefara's Stylistic Creations

Sefara (37) is another Radio Lebowa announcer whose stylistic creations can be categorised into two: There are those which are centred around his surname, Sefara, and those which are clan praises.

Sefara may be rated as the best announcer in compositions which are centred around his surname. He

has his own way of playing around with the 'root' of his surname ('-fara' of Sefara).

In Radio Lebowa, he presents only four programmes, namely:

1. *Re a lotusha* (Programme of greeting listeners)
2. *Dumela Magwena* (Friends requests)
3. *Re a Kiba Kiba* (We are dancing)
4. *A O Be O tseba* (Did you know?)

Though Sefara is presently residing in the Mankweng area, a township in the urban area, he does not divorce himself from the tradition he inherited from Bochum, his place of birth.

His expressions fight for both ascribed and achieved status. In Linton's terminology.

Some statuses are given: they are ascribed to a person by virtue of sex, age, race and kinship. Other statuses are achieved by following decisions made by the person or by other people.
(Linton 1936:119)

Sefara is more popular with the youth, because of his rhythmic names, namely, Farrass, Mafarafara, Mafarazozo and Mazozo

Analysis

Some of Sefara's stylistic creations are centred around his surname and others are praises, i.e. *izihasho*. In the composition of his individual stylistic creations, we find oral devices like parallelism coupled with rhythm and alliteration.

Mafara is parallelistic and rhythmical. The same applies to

Mafarazozo
Mazozo

where *-zozo* is the common link between the two expressions and is parallelistic, too.

Hlongwane (1983) calls such forms of constructions 'parallelistic parataxis'. Such paratactic combinations are also found in oral traditional composition. In parallelistic parataxis there is parallelism and which produces rhythm. The parallelistic parataxis is more marked by rhythm, and

rhythm is established by the quantity of syllables the words in question have, the tones cadences, and the caesuras between words or clauses (Hlongwane 1983).

In such composition we find a playing with sounds. Such repetition of sounds makes the name appeal more to the ear and they are cast in suitable metrical form for them to be memorable (Hlongwane 1983). This shows that those compositions are meant to be heard rather than read. Paratactic constructions are common in Zulu folktales, praises, proverbs and praise names.

Lord also noticed such 'grammar' in oral composition:

The poetic grammar of oral epic is and must be based on the formula. It is a grammar of parataxis and of frequently used and useful phrases.

(Lord 1960:65)

What one can say about such compositions, is that they are not creation but re-creation, for example *Farrass*, *Mafarafara* or *Mazozo* from Sefara.

Working in the electronic era, Sefara is like

... the singer struggling with the traditional patterns under unusual circumstances. He is not

seeking *le mot juste* for any other purpose than that of the traditional line; he is, indeed, striving to maintain, not to depart from, the tradition.
(Lord 1960:128)

Such maintenance of the oral tradition, in his electronic era is seen in Sefara's use of the totem and praise names. He is Sefara, *Lekubu*, *Setlogola sa Bathokwa* (The grandchild of the Batlokwa).

Lekubu is his clan praise (*izithakazelo*), and he and his family belong to the Bathokwa clan. There is a feeling that his family came from or is related to the Ndebeles. These praises, whenever mentioned on air, are always coupled with the mentioning of Letebele, which is Ndebele. He is

Mokgalabje mneka ngwetsi
Old man who weds a lass

Such a praise has a cultural and traditional connotation. Perhaps old men in his clan married young people and he has done the same. Perhaps he is informing us that 'he is the tradition, the integral parts of that complex, and the most fascinating part of that (Bathokwa) tradition' (Lord 1960). The expression shows 'he is conscious of the past and of the present's debts to the past' (Peabody 1975).

In conclusion, such creations in communication do not concern the past, but rather the present in the field of broadcasting.

Maxwell Mojapelo's Stylistic Creations

Thamagana Maxwell Mojapelo (34) from Matome, Zebediela, and presently residing at Lebowakgomo, is another top Radio Lebowa announcer. He presents mostly youth musical programmes. Among his many popular programmes are the following:

1. *Re a Lotsha* (Top Twenty)
2. *Nteletse* (Telephone requests)
3. *Tumi le Tumelo* (For the youth)
4. *Dinaledi* (Musical programme)

and many others.

Our research revealed that Majapelo has only five stylistic creations, one of which was formed around his name, and the rest referring to commercial sports with double meaning.

Analysis

Majapelo calls himself '*Max the Mixer*' which comes from his name, Maxwell. The root of his name is used rather than his surname as we noticed with other announcers. He is the '*mixer*' and the '*Lelekeleke*', which means a tall and lean man.

'Mixer' refers to the broadcast of his programmes. Since he has eleven programmes on air, he is the only announcer who is almost always on air presenting more than one programme a day. His programmes vary from those where only music is played to those which include talk about the new up-and-coming artists, e.g. *Dinkgwete tsa ngwaga*. His programmes mix everything, hence *Max the Mixer*.

'*Lelekeleke*' refers to his real body feature. Majapelo is tall and thin with long arms. On air he personalises himself as:

Max the Mixer, the *Lelekeleke*

This creates a full image of himself in the listeners mind, creating a curiosity in them to see if whether this man is really tall and lean.

Mojapelo wants listeners to become interested in his body features. He does not want to hold his audiences at a distance as the 'print culture' does (McLuhan 1970, Ong 1982, Leed 1983). He does not give the listener this image simply because he likes it or because it is attractive, but because he finds it appropriate for his self identification. Like in praise-poems, physical features are very important. Their importance in *izibongo* was noticed by Kunene, who commented that

The physical characteristics used in praising the hero are those which distinguish him from other people, particularly those which make him look awesome and fierce, and are likely to inspire fear into adversaries.

(Kunene 1971:43)

Like other previously discussed announcers, Majapelo uses those expressions which refer to commercial spots or are used when they play commercials. His most popular ones are

1. *Rati rati* (Lots and lots of love)
2. *Ruthu!* (Lets quickly go there and come back)
3. *Tabanatswee* (Here are nice/good things)

These three phrases or words have meanings different from the way they are used in this context. They have double

meanings in that they might refer either to the listener or the intended commercial spot. Hearing the announcer saying *Rati rati*, the listener might think that he is referring to him/her, wishing him/her a lot of love. The same may apply to *Tabanatswe*. *Ruthu* might sound more direct if used this way. *Ruthu!* is an ideophone.

Ideophones are picturesque. Commenting on ideophones Hlongwane says:

Rhythm is also more marked in ideophones than ordinary verbs. This is because ideophones are more dramatic than ordinary verbs.

(Hlongwane 1983:273)

This ideophonic expression might have been chosen to dramatize and enhance his narration in the programme, or create an aesthetic value, even though the meaning of these phrases or words will be established not by logic, but by use (Mathew 1979).

In these expressions, we see some art involved in their selection. There is the play on the 'r' sound in expressions 1 and 2. This might be because the announcer wants those words to ring in the listeners minds. Such art in composition is not far from *izibongo* where the *imbongi* (bard) chooses rhythmic words in his compositions.

In an appreciation of such language use in oral and praise-poem composition, Cope commented that

Praise composition is consciously an art; there is a conscious striving after literary effect and a conscious effort to attain a richer, a more evocative, a more emotive and a more memorable use of language.
(Cope 1968:25)

It is worthy of emphasis that such a choice of words with such sounds might be either a conscious or unconscious choice as

It is (indeed) quite likely that the whole complicated question of consciousness will be clarified once it becomes possible to describe with precision the characteristics of conscious actions (gesticulations) as opposed to unconscious ones.
(Jousse 1990:43)

Majapelo makes use of such devices

the function of which is to assist in the initial triggering, or the original linking-together, of the propositional gestures of a recitative, and to keep the recitatives of a recitation in their proper order
(Jousse 1990:59)

To Jousse , 'the propositional gesture is in essence nothing other than an imitation of the actions of men - which he also calls mimicry.

Ramakgolo's Stylistic Creations

R I Ramakgolo (35) is the presenter of all Radio Lebowa's cultural and traditional programmes. His programmes vary from the traditional hunting and war songs from the oral tradition of the Pedi's, *Mmino Wa Setso*, and also those which still contain the richness of the Pedi culture, *Dithai*, and the country music. There is also a programme where he gives the listeners a chance to choose their best traditional song for it to be played on radio for them (*Tsa pelong yaka*).

In these programmes we find all oral traditional gestures flowing from his mouth, which he inherited from the soil of Gamamabolo (Segopje), his place of birth.

What was noticed about his stylistic creations was the use of metaphors, archaic words, traditional idioms or proverbs.

All his expressions are from his rich language, Sepedi, and from the names of the Pedi traditional games.

Analysis

Ramakgolo is a true traditional man still rooted in his old Pedi tradition. Firstly, whenever he comes on air, he introduces himself as *Rams*, an abbreviation of his surname. He took the first part of his surname and added 's'. This is the only expression in his repertoire among his expressions which shows such interface or influence of literacy. According to his explanation, this *Rams*, means 'to relax'. He is the 'man' who always calls you to come, relax and listen to your traditional music, the music of your roots.

During your relaxation, he is there to keep you cool with his traditional 'fan' - the oxtail. Hence he advises:

A e tshwe lehulu
Take it easy

This stylistic creation is taken from the African tradition of diviners. Diviners are very popular people in the African culture. They can be likened to fortune tellers in the Western world, predicting the good and the bad that might befall one in the future. Whenever they perform their duties of predicting one's fortune, they use

the tail of an ox or horse. There are even idioms or proverbs that are coined around this 'tail' in most of the African languages.

Whenever Ramakgolo calls for an advert or a commercial spot in his programmes, he normally says:

Re foke ka baditsi
We predict or divine by using the tail/
Fan us with your wish

Ramakgolo is like all announcers, differing only in his style of predicting programmes. He broadcasts not for the sake of doing it, but to maintain his Pedi tradition, the tradition of the diviners.

Besides this divining, he informs his listeners that he is enjoying the company increasingly as the programme proceeds; hence the request:

Re tshedise matlere
Lead us on

These expressions are idiomatic expressions in the Northern Sotho language (Pedi). Rather than being stylistic creations to entertain the listeners, they are

educational to the young generation. Even at the end of his programmes he does not say 'goodbye', but finds an idiomatic expression more appropriate for that:

A e hlabe fase ka lenaka
 All resources have been exhausted/
 Let it take a rest

What we see from these expressions is the concept of 'memorable thoughts' which form the characteristic of oral style, which is extremely important in African proverbs. Indeed for an oral item to be retrieved, it must be impressed in the memory and in the imagination of the hearer, otherwise it will be forgotten and cease to exist.

The word *lenaka* (horns) shows the importance of cow in the Pedi tradition. Normally after the cattle has been stabbed to death, it lies with one horn on the ground. Such aspect of artistic expression within a whole social and literary context is supported by Ong:

Proverbs from all over the world are rich with observations about this overwhelmingly human phenomenon of speech in its native oral form, about its powers, its beauties, its dangers. The same fascination with oral speech continues unabated for centuries after writing comes into use.
 (Ong 1982:9)

The creation of style around traditional expressions does not end with proverbs but also includes traditional games in Ramakgolo's broadcasting style. Another version of his calling adverts or commercials is

Gum-boots

Gum-boots is not in the Northern Sotho lexicon. But it is used in almost all black languages describing a certain dance normally done by males. Usually, when the dancers have to dance, they wear 'black boots' which are commonly known as 'gum-boots'. This performance is normally accompanied by drums, songs or wind instruments. This performance is given in the context of entertainments and festivals. The performers will start jumping up and sideways with rhythm controlled by the drums. This drum communication is common to most of the continent of Africa. Ruth Finnegan describes the use of drums:

Communication through drums can be divided into two types. The first is through a conventional code where pre-arranged signals represent a given message; in this type, there is no directly linguistic basis for the communication. In the second type, that used for African drum literature and the form to be considered here, the instruments communicate through direct representation of the spoken language itself, simulating the tone and rhythm of actual speech. The instruments themselves are regarded as speaking and their messages consist of words.

Analysis

Legodi calls himself *Makone* or *The organiser of the evergreen station*; the station that brings the best to your ears. The equivalent of this above expression is said in a short form: *The orger wa the ever*.

Makone is a totemic name of the Bakone clan, believed by the Pedi people to be the 'evergreens'. Legodi calls himself the 'organiser of the evergreen station', by using the power which he inherited from his own people, the Bakone.

In the use of clan name, it was hinted before that a hero is sometimes praised by identifying himself with his clan. Kunene (1971) has researched the use of clan name as well as at its grammatical analysis:

The clan name is more often than not named after an animal - Bataung (People of the Lion, or the Lion Clan), Batlounge (People of the Elephant) ... Where the clan takes its name from an animal, the hero might be called by the name of that animal ... In such a case the poet often uses the animal name not only as a clan name, but also as a metaphorical eulogy, and goes on to bestow upon the hero attributes associated with the animal in question

(Kunene 1971:46)

Legodi's deeper grammatical analysis of the formation of the same clan names reveals that:

Often the actual clan name, i.e. the name of the animal with a personal prefix attached to it (and sometimes a suffix also), is used ... Another way is to form a personal noun from the verb stem ... which ... is then immediately followed by the name of the animal.

(Kunene 1971:47)

Kunene's contention is that the prefix *mo-* is mostly used in the formation of clan names, but sometimes others. In Legodi's stylistic creation we find the use of prefix *mo-* (*Mokone*) which substituted the personal prefix *Ba-* in *Bakone*.

Besides introducing himself in this expression, we find an interface between English and the Northern Sotho language formatives in one of Legodi's expressions. The expression:

The *orger wa* the ever

shows such interface. 'Orger' is an abbreviated form of 'organiser', *wa* is a possessive formative in

Northern Sotho, and 'the ever' is the shortened form of 'evergreen'. This expression reveals two things that can be viewed as art: firstly, the artistic use of the formative *wa* mixed with words of another language, and, secondly, the rhythm which is achieved by the shortening of words. This makes the expression sound more harmonious to the ears of the listener and keeps on ringing in the ears of the listener. Jousse, on such use of rhythm, commented that

It is (therefore) certain that the tendency towards rhythm is a primary manifestation of the human brain, or manifestation that is rooted deep in organic life itself.

(Jousse 1990:21)

One cannot blame such usage of words in the creation of artistic expressions especially in a spoken language since

Spoken language is flexible and agile; it marks the connection between clauses by brief simple indications.

(Jousse 1990:61)

Legodi's stylistic creations show that 'the oral world of radio drives all its denizens back from literate culture to the primary oral poetic economy' (Ong 1978) through the use of such concords and English words.

Legodi's expressions are both individual and traditional. His dry stylistic creations are pure creations influenced by literacy whereas the traditional one is dry and consists of *izihasho*. No technologised stylistic creations were traced from his programmes.

4.2.2.4. Stylistic Creations in Radio Venda

Radio Venda, the station that still broadcasts more for the people in rural areas, is presently under the Far North Broadcasting Unit in the New SABC. It has eleven announcers, most of them well over forty years of age. Some of them are about to go on pension, if they have not already gone as this is being written.

Four announcers were discovered to have stylistic creations in their broadcasting. Radio Venda's stylistic creations are mostly traditional, having some geneological connotations, and some praises for the announcers' land of birth of his forefathers. It must be noted that Radio Venda is still a very remote

station, which tries desperately to repel this new interface of literacy and orality, or any other influence from any foreign language. Hence, Radio Venda announcers have no technologised stylistic creations whatsoever. Their stylistic creations resemble *izibongo* oral devices.

Mpho Nefalo's Stylistic Creations

Nefalo's (60) place of birth is Venda but he is presently residing in Lebowakgwa in Pietersburg.

He presents live programmes during the day and six more other block programmes. His popular programmes are *Dze na khetha* (Listeners' choice), *Devhula Ha Vhembe*, for people North of the Limpopo river, and his philosophical programme on a language, *Bvumbani ipfi* (Sort out the word). His programmes mostly invite people from rural areas to come and join them. A good example here is the expression of the programme *Kha ri divhane* (Let's know each other).

Mpho's stylistic creations are praises mostly of the place of his birth and his forefathers. They contain

popular sayings in Venda and even the accepted popular proverbs of the land.

Analysis

When Nefalo comes on the air his popular expression is

*Kwinda la Tshirundu-vhuya, wa Makundumuke, a sa
liho mutshilo was mbudzi. Ndi wa HaMadzhoromela,
Tshikhopha nnwatele vhuhali a vhu nemunwe.
Kwinda of Tshirundu-vhuya
Of Makundumuke place
Who does not eat a goat's tail
He is of HaMadzhoromela
Break me a piece of an aloe, nobody has fierceness*

This is a very interesting praise expression which ought to be analysed thoroughly in order to understand its depth.

Here, the announcer is praising his place of birth, of which he is very proud. He is an animal *Tshirundu-vhuya* with paws (*kwinda*). This is an effective kind of a metaphor. Nefalo is indentifying himself with a phenomenon of nature. It might happen that this animal possesses, to the highest degree, the qualities observed and praised in him. We find an association here with the place, since he, too, is from the

Makundumuke. Further, the animal has no tail like him
(*a sa liko mutshilo wa mbudzi*).

Commenting on the use of metaphorical eulogies in
Basotho, Kunene says:

However, the metaphorical names used of Basotho
horses are mainly names of animals, mostly wild
and ferocious ... A metaphorical eulogy is seldom
used by itself. Mostly, it is followed by an
associative reference relating the hero to some
famous ancestor or parent, or to his clan, or, in
a few instances, to his place of origin.
(Kunene 1971:38)

In this expression, we find a few illustrations from
Nefalo's stylistic creations:

Descent:
Ndi wa HaMadzhoromela
Tshikhopha ...

The idea in this expression is to reinforce the praise
already due to him (the announcer) through his
membership in a famous clan or family by describing
himself not only as a member, but as an outstanding
one. Here the clan name (*isithakazelo*) is taken from
the name of the plant *Tshikhopha*. He has
intentionally used this plant as a metaphorical name
in addition to its normal use.

This *Tshikhopha*, as informants told us, can be cut and be planted, but it grows very fast. It features largely in Venda idiomatic expressions.

It is not enough for Nefalo to tell us that he is the son of *Madzhoromela*, so he explains that by praising his forefathers, the *Tshikhophas*. His description of his clan people goes further than that;

Balamutshenzhe
They eat red insects

Mutshenzhe is small red insects presently known as '*rooi miere*'. They were normally eaten by the boys in the mountains.

Nefalo's stylistic creations can be summed up by
Kunene's words:

Very often a metaphorical eulogy is followed by a phrase or sentence describing the actions and/or characteristics, not of the hero, but of the phenomenon with which he is identified. Every action or characteristic so described is, of course, an extension of the noun metaphor, and is translatable into an action or characteristic of the hero so identified.

(Kunene 1971: 40)

The diagram below illustrates these themes:

THESIS

Kwinda la Tshirundu-vhuya, wa Makundumuke, a sa
liho mutshila wa mbudzi.
Ndi wa ha Madzhoromela,
Tshikhapha nnwatele vhuhali a vhu nemunwe.
Balamutshenzhe.

METAPHORICAL EULOGUE

ACTION/CHARACTERISTICS

Kwinda la Tshirundu-
vhuya wa Makundumuko

A sa liho mutshilo wa
Mbudzi.

CHARACTERISTICS DESCRIBED

Ndi wa ha Madzhorome-
la Tshikhapha.

EXTENSION OF A METAPHOR

Nnwatele vhuhali a vhu
nemunwe

ACTION

BALAMUTSHENZHE

It is amazing how insightful Kunene's statement can be. *Kwinda la Tshirundu-vhuya, wa Makundumuke* is shown to be the key phrase of the whole praise. This expression can form a complete praise with any of those other features, namely characteristics described, extension of a metaphor or even the action which is a translation of the metaphor. This diagram shows how artistic the announcers oral traditional stylistic creation is in the electronic medium.

Ligudu's Stylistic Creations

Ligudu Tothowani Eric (62) is another old Radio Venda announcer, also born and bred in Venda and presently residing in Lebowakgomo. His programmes include live programmes and traditional programmes which are directed at the rural people, namely, *Wa mashudu ndi nnyi* (Who's lucky), *Thetshelesani Mbalo* (Listen to this lesson) and those directed at the youth, *Dza Vhaswa* (For the youth) and he ends with those which are aimed at teaching a language, *Thai na Minero* (Riddles and Idioms).

Ligudu's stylistic creations are not far from those of his colleague Nefalo. His compositions are also full of praises and clan names. They only differ in that Ligudu's expressions carry many genealogical references, where this announcer is associating himself with his pregenitors. His expressions are dry traditional stylistic creations with (i) names, (ii) surnames and (iii) genealogy.

Analysis

Ong (1982:99) noted that

In a primary oral culture or a culture with a heavy oral residue, even genealogies are not 'lists' of data but rather 'memory of songs sung'.

Ligudu's compositions around genealogies shows that radio is also in some respects more supportive of the oral traditional pattern of the local community.

Ligudu is

Muduhulu wa Vhakwevho vha Ha-Matidze
I am the grandchild of Vhakwevho originally from Ha-Matidze

Although he does not involve us in the systemic tracing back of lineage, a reference to one of the ancestors is picked at random. In his composition he goes further than that. He gives a description of the *Vhakweho* people, and of the present place where he is staying.

Vhakwevho Vha Ha-Matidze vhantswu milomo
 All *Vhakwevho* from *Ha-Matidze*
 Who are black, the mouth ...

This supports Kunene's contention:

Mostly these references occur preceded by other eulogues of almost any description - narrative, metaphorical, descriptive, etc.
 (Kunene 1971:49)

Vhantswu milomo describes the *Vhakwevho* people.

He further explains that

Wa Lunungwi lwa Mmbabanana
Hu si na vhuladze ha nwana
 Of *Lunungwi* of *Mmbabanana*
 Where there is no child illness

Here, Legudu acknowledges and admires the qualities of the person (ancestor) with whose name he is linked,

and is flattered to know or believe that he shares these qualities i.e. of having black gums/mouth (*vhantswa milomo*). He is even proud of his birth place, because, it is where his ancestors originated.

In this work we are not concerned primarily with factual accuracy and genealogies as such, but rather with genealogies as artistic expressions or styles and a technique or techniques as being used in the new oralism of radio.

Johnson, commenting on the use of genealogy as style, says that

Genealogy is at least sometimes employed purely as stylistic embellishment by the creative raconteur bent on telling a good story, or needing to sound authoritative by the mentioning of repeated names from the oral tradition.

(Johnson 1986:4)

Genealogies come under two forms, firstly, implicit and, secondly, explicit (Mkhize 1989). Most of the explicit genealogical references are coupled with historical facts. In Legudu's case, he is *Muduhulu wa Vhakwevho*. He is the direct descendant of *Vhakwevho*. Most genealogies in *izibongo* are seen as formulas (cf.

(Note: The sign \emptyset indicates the absence of that item).

In this case, the first 0 might represent, *Muduhulu*, whereas the second 0 indicates the absence of the clan name.

Koopman's schematic applicability in radio's stylistic creations shows that announcers traditional stylistic creations are an ongoing contemporary counterpart of the traditional oral poetry.

However, Legudu's stylistic creations are not far from the *izibongo*. Their artistic creation resembles those found in *izibongo*, namely parallelism, alliteration, assonance. In short, Legudu's broadcasting styles are still rooted in the old tradition but are now used in the new oral tradition of technology, and still remain unaffected.

Legudu's stylistic creations are not far from those of Nefalo. Both stylistic creations seem to resemble one another, though some features might differ. Below is a diagrammatic representation of Legudu's creation.

SIS

Muduhulu wa vhakwevho vha Ha-matidze vhantswu
milomo. Wa Lunungwi lwa mmbabanana hu si na
vhuladzo ha nwana.

METAPHORIC EULOGUEACTION/CHARACTERISTIC

Muduhula Wa Vhakwevho.
Vha Ha-Matidze

DESCRIPTION

Vhantswu Milomo

EXTENTION OF
A METAPHOR
&
ACTION/CHARACTE-
RICS.

Wa Zunungwi jwa
Mmbabanana hu si na
Vhuladzo ha nwana.

Though our intention here is not to go deeply into comparison of the two works; our illustration indicates that the two stylistic creations are similar in many respects. In Legudu's composition there is no action or characteristic but, the description of the metaphoric eulogie follows immediately. Secondly, the action and characteristic is shown here to be included in the extensions of a metaphor.

Such differences show two artistic works composed by two different people from the same oral tradition. Two different composers can work under one tradition, but their compositions will differ.

Sono's Stylistic Creations

The stylistic creations of the two above-mentioned announcer's seem to resemble one another. They show some variety of style and approaches according to their various programmes (Chester 1978).

Dryskin Baos Sono (46) has a totally different way of creatinng a relationship between himself and his

listeners. He has a totally different communicative approach. Though he sometimes presents programmes in the same way as his colleagues (namely, traditional music programmes, pick-a-box shows and live programmes), his air personality is created more by praising than incorporating genealogical references.

Sono , like his colleagues, has no technologised stylistic creations but instead his compositions are dry and traditional. His praises are from his name, Dryskin, with reference to his place of birth.

Analysis

Sono's stylistic creations sound more like *izihasho* than *izibongo*. In fact, the style of composition of *izibongo* and *izihasho* is the same as far as form, meter and poetic techniques are used, but differs only in content (Turner 1990). In praising himself he claims:

Ndi nne mukumba thipetwi
Ane ari u petwa
A petuluwa muyani Dryskin
Muthannga ane
A bva Madombidzha Munariri
 I am a hide that refuses to be rolled up

Who, if rolled up
 Unrolls in the air, Dryskin
 A young man who comes from *Madombidzha Munariri*

These *izihasho* are meant to excite and delight, to appeal to and appease the listeners. It sounds as if his name 'Dryskin' is incomplete until it gets explained (A *petuluwa muyani*). The humour is that he is not just the ordinary 'skin' but the one that cannot be folded/rolled.

(*Muthannga ane*). The language used in this expression might be described as highly figurative here. In case this 'skin' gets folded, it unfolds over the air (*u putwa a petuluwa muyani*); this might also be an extensive use made of metaphors.

Figuratively, one could say that Dryskin is the man whom you cannot easily understand or even conquer. If you do claim that you are understanding him or you have won or conquered him, you are deceiving yourself. It is interesting to see that all this is said in a very humorous manner.

Commenting about humour in *izihasho* Turner briefly said:

Izihasho are composed in contemporary times about ordinary people. Elements of satire and humour here appear more prolifically.

(Turner 1991:55)

The mentioning of the place of birth is very common in oral traditional poetry. Sometimes it need not be a place of birth that must be mentioned; it can be the name of the place where certain events occurred. Sono mentions his place of birth, in his composition, for identification. He wants himself to be more identified with his place of birth. To him that is a status which he acquired by right of birth. His place of birth, is what he is, prior to the enactment of any achieved roles (Scheibe 1983).

The pride attached in his place of birth, is seen on the description given to it. It is *Madombidzha*, the green valley (*Munariri*). *Munariri* might symbolise richness, wealth and continuous life, or may reflect the various other meanings conveyed by this word. Normally, superficial meanings are symbolic (Vansina 1985).

In the face of this description, it emerges clearly that

The praise-poems reflect the background not only of social life but of the country itself. There are frequent references to rivers (*imifula*) and mountains (*izintaba*), forests (*amahlathi*) and ridges (*izinkalo og. ukhalo*).

(Cope 1968:17)

Dryskin's stylistic creations are still deeply rooted in his own oral traditional songs. He sees no point in praising himself through the usage of foreign words, as other announcers do, but rather to praise himself in his language.

Manabela's Stylistic Creations

Manabela M A (41) known as 'Vasco' to his listeners, is one of the popular young announcers in Radio Venda. He was born and bred in Venda's rural area and is presently residing in Seshego. Most of his programmes are directed at the people in the urban areas. He normally presents most of the live programmes and 'Listeners choice', which is very popular especially among the youth, both in rural and urban areas. His programme, which is featured once a week is 'Artist of the Week'.

Manabela's stylistic creations are close to those of Dryskin Sono. Like Sono, he praises himself but with no reference to his place of birth or any association with his ancestors.

1. *Ndi V M*
2. *Ndi Vasco Manabela*
3. *Ndi Mutendeleki*
4. *Ndi Mujigelezo*
5. *Ndi golei ya muthuso*
6. *I namedza munwe*
7. *Na munwe nga fhedzi*
8. *A huna a sina mukovhe kha Radio Venda*

1. I am V M
2. I am Vasco Manabela
3. I am the wanderer
4. I am the turn arounder
5. I am the government's vehicle/car
6. That gives everybody
7. Which carries everybody with no charge
8. There is no-one who does not have a share in Radio Venda

Analysis

Here, Manabelo describes himself in different ways.

He agrees that he is Vasco (a newly created name) Manabelo. But he is the most free man (*Mutendeleki*), the man who can go anywhere (wanderer), like governments car (*golei ya muthuso*), which goes all around (*Mujigelezo*).

This is quite interesting in that Manabelo is trying to address the fact that the 'voice' on radio goes anywhere like the government's car (*golei ya muthuso*) and is free to anyone who is prepared to listen to it. He is expressing this metaphorically in an everyday language.

(*Mutendeleki, Mujigelezo*).

What is noticed in such a use of a metaphor is the animate-inanimate classification, without giving detailed grammatical analysis of this classification, we can only mention that in such classification, the verb (where the metaphor is based) may have an effect of the animating the object or reversing the personification (*Ndi golei ya muthuso*).

If we look at this personification, the car (*golei*) has been personified and the noun (*muvhuso*) originates from the verb (*vhusa*). The whole metaphor used in artistic expression is verbally based.

Untermeyer, defining the function of a metaphor, says:

A metaphor is usually more effective than a simile because it makes an instant comparison and an imaginative fusion of two objects without the use of explanatory prepositions.

(Untermeyer 1968:225)

The metaphor here is artistically used. It is ruled by the choice of *golei ya muvhuso*. The government is the top body of every country; they make and pass laws which everybody must obey. Manabela, also, is like the government; but worse still is his car that goes around announcing laws and seeing to it that all those laws and policies are being obeyed. This car is like a vagabond. As on radio, he is the man who makes rules like the government, and later sees to it that they are respected. The government does all this freely, and he too, gives lifts or entertains everybody freely (*na munwa nga fhe dza*). Hence, no licence fee is presently paid for listening to radio, it is free household entertainment.

All this reaches its climax in the expression:

A huna a sina mukovhe kha Radio Venda
(There is no one who does not share in Radio Venda)

Listeners must know that nobody is without a share in Radio Venda. We must all participate freely and openly. This personification is a special form of comparison, which is meant to carry or suggest this hidden aspect of broadcasting.

This personification is accompanied by a well knitted initial rhyme. Manabala has arranged similar syllables in succession and this formed an interesting pattern. Here *Ndi*, which is the subject, is repeated successively. It may happen that this initial rhyme comes very naturally or was used deliberately, hence the neat schemes to which it conforms. Manabala here has emulated patterns which are used in *izibongo*.

Commenting on such use of rhyme, Ntuli says:

When properly used, rhyme has a regulating effect and indicates audibly that we have come to the end of a verse. We cannot ignore the aesthetic echo effect produced by such repetitions. After coming to the end of a line, we anticipate hearing the similar sound later on. When we get to that sound, it echoes the sound we have already heard.
(Ntuli 1984:204)

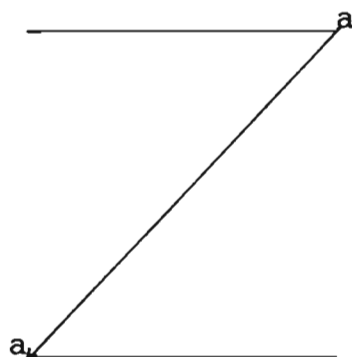
According to Ntuli, this schema of rhyme normally serves as a device for indicating the units of thought which are found in each line.

An interesting comment ought to be given especially in the usage of two words namely: *mutendeleki* and *mujigelezo*. These two words might mean one and the same thing. But *mutendeleki* means a person who is a 'habitual wanderer' with no fixed place, whereas *mujigelezo* means also the person who is a wanderer, but not a 'habitual wanderer'. Moreover, if one is *mujigelezo*, it does not mean that one has no fixed abode. *Mutendeleki* may imply *mujigelezo*, meaning a 'habitual wanderer' going 'all around'.

This is developed in a metaphor (*golei ya muvhuso*) - as hinted above, and it culminates in a repetition of *munwe* which emphasizes that the car lifts everybody. Though it is a vagabond, as an all rounder it has no exception.

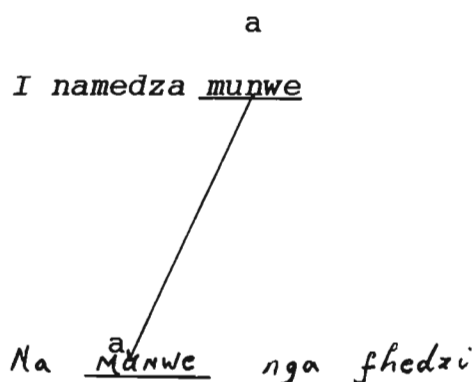
We find the first *munwe* (L.6) is a good balance with the next *munwe* (L.7). Such balancing is called

oblique linking, which is very common in *izibongo*. Normally, it can be represented with lines having a slant from one side to the other that is a right-left swing, for example,



This is what Cope calls final linking. Groenewald (1966:74) and Mzolo (1977:100) call it cross-linking. Kunene (1971:75) calls it cross-line repetition.

The present case (*munwe* in L.6 and L.7) can be represented thus:



Explaining such a pattern, Ntuli says:

One word in the first line occurs in a first different position in the second line. The corresponding words need not belong to the same morphological category. The link may be forged by merely using the same root.
(Ntuli 1984:195)

Such art in stylistic creations will be discussed further below (4,3).

This might be both ornamental and also serve a purpose of emphasis. The emphasis is that *munwe* (everybody) is not only given a lift, but have also a share in Radio Venda as their station.

In conclusion we appreciate the care with which Radio Venda announcers handle the oral traditional poetry techniques or devices in the creation of their air personalities.

4.2.2.5. Stylistic Creations in Radio Tsonga

Radio Tsonga is one of the SABC's stations presently in the Far North Transvaal Unit. It has a mixture of eleven old and young announcers, the majority of whom are young, unlike Radio Venda which has more old than young announcers.

At this point it must be stressed that Radio Venda and Tsonga were once one service. Up until 1977, they were heard daily from 05h30 to 06h30 and from 09h30 to 10h00 over MW. Because of this, in the analysis of the announcers stylistic creations of these two stations, a great mutual influence can be expected.

Out of eleven announcers, only two (2) announcers were discovered to have stylistic creations. They are John Nkomo (52) and Goodfriday Eric Makelana (33).

Nkomo's Stylistic Creations

Nkomo's stylistic creations are traditional and cultural, based on the folklore of his clan and ancestors. They thus comprise traditional songs and beliefs. They are always heard in his live programmes, as well as in his request programmes for

the aged. Even his nicknames are traditional and formed around his clan dances. When praising himself, he is often heard saying:

1. *Hi Mina Dzudzamadzedze*
2. *Xikwembu xa le matini*
3. *Wa le ka Ncayincayi*
4. *Ka misinya yo ringana*
5. *Hi mina matshwala hosi*
6. *I ndlozi lenkulu*

1. I am a vagrant
2. The god which lives under the water
3. I came from Ncayincayi land
4. Where trees are equal and the same
5. I am the one who bears a chief
6. It is the great spirit

Nkomo's *izihasho* shows a pride of himself and an higher status. He is not an ordinary man but the great ancestor/spirit (*I ndlozi lenkulu*), who is presently the king. He is the 'flea-thrower' which means the helper to everybody, and he associates himself with *Xikwembu*, who is the god of water. Traditionally and culturally, the Tsonga people still believe in the existence of different gods. Like the Zulus who beleive in *Nomkhubulwane*, the god of rain and fertility (Callaway 1868), so *Xikwembu*, in the Tsonga tradition, is believed to be the god of water and stays in water. *Xikwembu* is believed to be the

controller of the water resources, if somebody gets thirsty in the veld, s/he calls for *Xikwembu* to show her/him the stream where s/he can get water. And *Xikwembu* will immediately direct her/him.

Such stories normally originate from beliefs and are known as myths. This *xikwenbu* is believed to have existed long, long ago. William Bascom defines myth as:

Sacred tales told as truth, believed as fact, which happened long, long ago, in a world which was different or other than the present one; the principal characters are mostly non-human; the attitude of both teller and listener is sacred.
(Bascom 1965:4)

This *Xikwembu* shows an intimate nature of religion based on the generation of family and tribal ancestors.

It is said that *Xikwembu* is from *Ncayincayi*, which is the area in Mozambique where all trees are of the same length (*Ka misinya yo ringana*). There is a belief that all black people (*Abantu*) originally came from middle Africa, and went down to the Southern

hemisphere of Africa. The Shangaans remained in Mozambique and Xhosas moved further down to the Cape. The mentioning of *Ncayincayi* might originate from such a belief.

Nkomo, in this case, is proud of his ancestors who originated from *Ncayincayi*. He is not even representing them but he is the 'great ancestor' (*ndlozi lenkulu*) who is the father of the king of his own clan.

Besides his birth status, whenever on air, he sees himself as the pain reliever to his listeners (*Dzudzamadzedze*) and the provider of water to those who are thirsty. As an announcer, he is the father who comforts, entertains and soothes everybody who listens to Radio Tsonga. The metaphor, *mina matswala hosi*, shows that an announcer is a most respected person in his community.

As the top Radio 702 DJ, John Berks, once stated that

... the broadcaster plays the same role in many people's lives as their hairdressers do: father-

confessor, psychologist, marriage counsellor and financial advisor in one.

(Hart K. 1991. 'Midnight Confessions'. In *You*, 10 October 1991)

In conclusion, Nkomo's traditional dry stylistic creations are not only *izihasho*, where he is just praising himself like other previously discussed DJs, but it also informs us about the role of an announcer as a performer in his community.

Makelana's Stylistic Creations

Goodfriday Eric Makelana (31), from Zanghoma settlement under Chief Mahlaba and presently residing in Lebowakgomo, is one of the young up and coming DJs in Radio Tsonga.

He presents live programmes, listener choice, as well as programmes of new releases on Fridays. He does not have many stylistic creations, like his colleagues, except one which centres around his surname.

Normally he calls himself '*Khel*' if he welcomes his listeners. This stylistic creation appears in two

ways, firstly, with a jingle as a technologised stylistic creation and, secondly, as a dry individual style. Its technologised version comes as a sung gimmick, sung by a group of female artists, accompanied by musical instruments. The song has lyrics which keep on repeating its coined word 'Khel', for example:

Khel ... Khel ... Khel
Khel my super Khel

The dry version is said with a deep baritone voice.

Analysis

Khel as a stylistic creation for Goodfriday. Makelana is a full word with its meaning attached to it like all other words. But it is doubtful whether *Khel* has any meaning. It might look like a series of sounds put together having no meaning of any kind. But that does not wipe out the power for this word to exist. In Jousse's language, it is a communication to one who is listening, 'the communication of thought', it is a 'gesture' and the significance of a gesture is determined by the context only (Jousse 1990:Chapter 8).

The question as to how and why Goodfriday decided to choose *Khel* from other letters of his surname, can be answered by Jousse's assertion that:

It happens to all of us that sometimes, while we are thinking, we unconsciously pronounce the words corresponding to our thoughts.

(Jousse 1990:59)

The possibility is that this expression must have come to his mind and was pronounced unconsciously. Hence its existence might be governed by the 'law of automatism' (Jousse 1990).

Those who decided to sing this expression, by technologising it, accompanying it with musical instruments, show that:

These gesticulations, which are spontaneously re-enacted by the organism, are naturally used by man voluntarily and semiologically ... Not only does he re-enact these countless mimic gesticulations for himself, he re-enacts them for his fellow men ...

(Jousse 1990:228)

The action at the end is that the whole technologised stylistic creation ends up being sung by some of his

listeners, for example, young people, or children in the streets. It diffuses itself widely in the population.

Pawley and Syder (1981) noted that it is a common observation that speaking, in spontaneous everyday conversation, may produce lengthy stretches which are fluent, coherent and idiomatic. What Pawley and Syder say has been observed from the Sotho group's stylistic creations. But what is more in Sotho group is that their stylistic creations have the following characteristics:

1. Most of them are dry and traditional
2. Those which are dry and individualistic are centred around their names. It is either the root or the stem of the names that gets developed into the stylistic creation.
3. Traditional stylistic creations are from:
 - (a) clan names
 - (b) geneological references
 - (c) praises which are from clan names, places of birth or ancestors
 - (d) beliefs and totemic names, and are rooted in one's folklore, songs and dances
 - (e) traditional and cultural idioms or proverbs.
4. They vary from programme to programme. For example, traditional expressions are found more in traditional programmes.
5. There are very few technologised stylistic creations. If they do exist, they are created mostly around the announcers name or surname.

6. There are very few incidences of foreign influence; Sotho stations still shows some rootedness in their language and tradition.
7. Artistically they reveal oral features like assonance, alliteration, parallelism, repetition (this will be further discussed below).

Sotho radio announcers, in their broadcasting, make a lot of contributions to conversation that are coherent and sensitive to listeners' knowledge and other features of social situation. Like bards or oral poets, they are performers, and creative artists within their complex oral tradition.

4.2.2.6. Stylistic Creations in Sotho Sermons

The focus of this study is to see the oral or stylistic use of a word in broadcasting within the orality-literacy continuum, the tradition of new technology. It was mentioned in the introductory remarks that stylistic creations also feature mostly in sermons (it must be remembered that in this investigation an assumption was made that the radio is solely dependent on a word which might be spoken, written spoken or just written).

More work has been done and published on formulaic quality in sermons as well as the oral tradition in the Bible (Kelber 1980, 1983; Rosenberg 1969-1974). These scholars have argued that:

... the gospel is to be perceived not as the natural outcome of oral developments, but as a critical alternative to the powers of orality.

Rosenberg (1970) has discussed the methods by which folk preachers spontaneously and orally compose their sermons, with frequent reference to the work of Parry and Lord.

To highlight the preacher's dependence on formulaic phrases during his preaching, the patterned language, stylistic features such as formulaic diction, parallelism and incremental repetitions in Sotho Group stations, *three* short sermons were recorded and analysed. These sermons were from Southern Sotho, Venda and Tsonga (Shangaan).

The Sotho group stations seem to show more formulas, or stylistic creations in their sermons. Unlike the stylistic creations in musical programmes, they do not

come in the form of dry, traditional, or technologised stylistic creations. They are expressions which are more formulaic in nature showing some parallelism, formulaic diction, rhythm patterned language and rhythm, which is a process of creation on its own.

Rosenberg (1970) stressed that:

A preacher's verbalization must be seen to be a process of creation rather than a rote memorization; in other words, the result of phrase generation from grammar of formulaic systems rather than verbatim recall.

(Rosenberg in Foley 1985)

Rosenberg's argument is that formulas must be understood in *context* not in isolation, so that the continuity of composition can be assessed.

In the short sermon by Rev F M Motingoe from Sesotho broadcast on 11 August 1991, different stylistic features were noticed. After reading from Psalms Chapter 3, Verse 10, he started his preaching. There is the incremental repetition of *Momameli* (listener), which shows that the whole sermon is directed to the listener. Those who obey the word of God will enjoy his blessings in this world.

This emphasis is kept by a repetition of *lefatsho* (world) which is repeated three times. Later it gets developed to an adverb of place: *lefatsheng* (in the world).

In the same sermon, there are cases where repetitions do not recur in exactly the same form. A good example is

O bolekile lentswe la mamelo
You have obeyed the word of my commandment

which differs from the later repetition:

Ha o bolekile lentswe la memala
If you obey the word of my commandment

The addition of *ha* (if) brings development in the narrative structure. In such a sentence construction:

a repeated word, phrase or line need not recur in exactly the same form each time in order to be included as a formula.

(Watters 1976:10)

Watters further explains that the sound of words and phrases used in formulas is important for the oral presentation and the listening of the audience. In the very same sermon, there are sounds which seem to be used to heighten the total effect of the sermon upon its listeners, for example:

Ke tla o loela
 (I will reveal)
E tla o tlhahela
 (that will happen)
lohle ba tla hlahelwa
 (that will be confronted with difficulty)

Such a repetition fits exactly in Culley's definition of a formula as:

a group of phrases having the same syntactic pattern, the same metrical structure, and at least one major lexical item in common.

(Culley 1967:12)

The same applies to the well knitted parallelism:

O tlatla ka maru
O tlatla ka maru ha madimo
 (He) will appear in the form of clouds
 (He) will appear in the form of clouds when God ...

Maru (clouds) and *tlatla* (appear) are two major common lexical items common in both lines and are the core of the two phrases.

The very same language contributions were observed in Venda devotion. After a reading from the book of Peter 2 chapter 3, verse 18-20, we find the preacher's interpretation uses the very same words as in those read

verses but with more creativity. There are places where the preacher avoids the use of the same word but prefers to use its synonym:

Ha anoni maipfi ana a khow
Those words/news were spoken
Ndi mafhungo mahulwane
Are important words

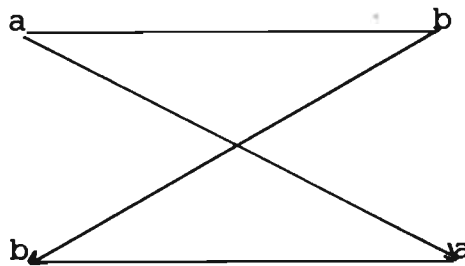
Maipfi and *mafhungo* are synonymous words. There is a further emphasis on Christ's patience that He showed during the crucification. The preacher achieves this by repeating the phrase:

ha usa fheti mbilu
Without losing patience

The first patience here is that of Noah and the story develops to Jesus patience: this repetition is clearly supported by other syntactic repetitions which help towards the development of the story.

Usa fhela mbilu ha Noagi
Zwi fhingani zwa madi mahulwane
Ndi mafhungo mahulwane usa fhela mbilu ...
U shengedzwa a sa fheli mbilu
The Noah's patience
During the times of floods
Are the important words during the times of patience
...
(And) to be tortured without losing patience

The underlined words/phrases are examples of formulaic diction, well knitted with the oblique type of linking of the two words: *Mahulwane* (big) as well as *usa fhela mbilu*. These two phrases/words form what is called 'cross-line repetition' (Kunene 1971). It normally yields the pattern:



In our case here, (a) can represent *usa fhela mbilu* and (b) *mahulwane*. This repetition is not only a matter of creating parallelistic lines, but it is a way of creating rhythm so as to let the whole sermon flow easily to the ears of the listeners (it must be noted that in radio, when the preacher is preaching we do not see him, we only hear his voice. Rhythm makes the whole sermon sound harmonious). This patience, *fhela mbilu*, is further repeated with the word *kondelela* (persevere):

Kondolela usa fhela mbilu
Kondolele vha songo fhela mbilu
 Persevere without losing patience
 You should persevere without losing patience

In this construction we have linking which rotates around the root, (*Kondo*) which has been modified from its primary shape. *Kondolela* (persevere) and *kondolele* (you should persevere) are the same verb used in two different constructions. Grammatically, *kondolela* is an indicative relative, whereas *kondolele* is a participle. There is mood contrast in these two words.

The use of verbs in parallelism to achieve linking in contrasted forms leads to what Hainsworth refers to as formular modification. Explaining the use of verbs as formular modification and expansion in an orally composed work, as in this example, Hainsworth says:

The simplest account of modification as a compositional artifice is to assume that the poet desires to use a certain formulaic word association. He naturally thinks of this in its most familiar form, and this form we may call the primary shape of the formula. If then the primary shape is impossible since the positions in which it might be used are already occupied, the poet adjusts its shape to make it fit the space that is available.

(Hainsworth 1968:83)

Vha in line 2 is normally used in Venda when talking to someone you respect or someone older than you.

Such constructions of verbs used as formulaic modification are also noticed in Tsonga devotion. The whole sermon is from the book of Romans chapter 13 verse 13. In his formulaic construction, the preacher relies more on using contrasted verb forms. As an illustration we have constructions like:

Hambi vo ringeta ku tumbeka

Aswi tumbeleki ni hwekanhi

(Person) who walks in the dark and can hide

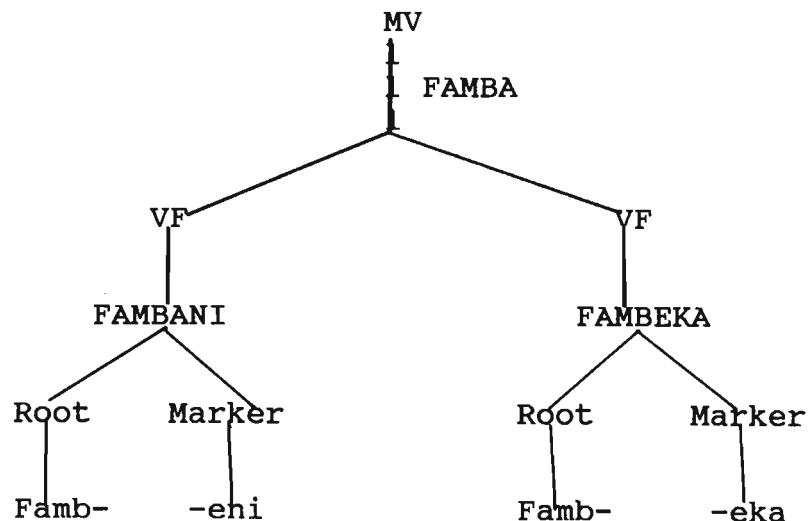
Whereas one cannot hide during the day

Tumbeleki is from *tumbela* (hide) which later develops into *tumbeleka* (hiding place). The other example is noticed in:

*Ahi fambeni hi mikhuva leyi faneleka ku
kotisa vanhi lava fambaka ni hlekani ...*
Let us go decently and follow the rules
As we must be going in the daytime/light

Fambani (to go) and *fambaka* (must be going) are two contrasted verbs with same root '*famb-*'. What we basically notice here, is the existence of a formula achieved through **shape** and **use** of the verb (Mkhize 1989). These verbs feature in different syntactic slots in the line.

We find the different verbal forms, modified by different markers, for example, *famba* > *fambeni* > *fambaka*. Diagrammatically, this may be represented thus:



MV = main verb
VF = verbal form

It means in this diagram we have a formula which can be described as artistic manipulation of various contrasting grammatical forms, particularly those of verbs. Like the oral poet, these preachers do not change the words merely for variety, but for ornamenting what they are saying. There are different shades of meaning implied by these verbs.

In the very same devotion we have this striking development which is achieved through repetition:

1. *U famba eku vo na kaleni ka xikwembu*
2. *U famba ku vonakaleni ka vhangeli*
3. *U famba eku venakaleni ka moya nawo*
4. *A fambaka ni vu si ku na ewi kota ku tumbela*

1. You always walk in the light of God
2. You walk in the light of the gospel
3. You always walk in the light like the children of God
4. You walk in the light through our lives

These repetitions have different directions. They advise the listener that he has got to walk from the *light of God* to the *light through our lives*. What is interesting here is the semantic sequence of the words *Xikwebu* (God), *vhangeli* (gospel), *moya nawo* (God's spirit) and *ewi keta ku tembela* (through our lives) which builds up towards climax.

These are not ornamental repetitions but functional repetitions: the sound of words and phrases used in formulas, for example repeated in oral composition, heightens the total effect of that orally composed work upon the listeners (Rosenberg 1969).

What we realise from these sermons, is the use of heavily formulaic language, which is achieved in many different ways, namely, (i) grammatical construction, (ii) parallelism, (iii) repetitions, (iv) shape and use of verbs and (v) synonyms.

Some of the formulas in these devotions support Rosenberg (1970) when he says 'formulas must be understood in context, not in isolation, so that the continuity of composition can be assessed'.

1. *Ngauni O Kundwa*
2. *Satani O Kundwa vhone ...*

is a good example of this statement from Venda devotion. The 'O' in the first phrase is an indefinite form implicitly referring to Satan, which is totally different

from the 'O' in the second phrase. This is only understood in the context of the whole devotion.

These examples from above prove that preaching is a process of creation relying on the oral tradition as well as on the grammatical construction of that language.

These sermons reveal all the stylistic features which were pronounced by Parry and Lord in their theory. It might be that the preachers in these sermons used formulas for their own elegance. Whallon concludes that

... these long (phrases) and short (word pairs) formulas must have come from an oral period when all poets aimed at the finest poetry possible created from all available diction. Priest, prophet, and wise man all drew upon the same tradition of word pairs and phrases. It is even possible he thinks, that repeated word pairs and phrases had a source which was never written down.

(Whallon 1969:18)

Our conclusion is that the Sotho group preachers also drew from the oral tradition via a written text, and that their preaching is more of a creation than a rote memorization, with special reliance on the grammatical structure of their respective language.

These preachers are

... creative only insofar as they selectively pick
and choose formulas to fit their poetic subjects.
(Walters 1976:61)

4.2.3. NGUNI GROUP

The Nguni group stylistic creations are further developed than those of the Sotho group, the reason being that they show a lot of interface between the use of foreign words, namely, in English and Afrikaans. Though some of the stylistic creations are composed or created around names, they do not get developed to any clan names, or praise names. There are a few cases here and there, but not many. There are very few genealogical references as well as izihasho or izibongo.

It is interesting to see the use of 'empty words' - words with meaning only when used in their respective language, but which lose their meaning, or simply acquire a new meaning, when used on the radio. Other words are just sounds put together with no meaning attached to them, for example:

A ... Brrr ... by Nzimande Welcome

This will be more clearly explained in our analysis below.

4.2.3.1. Stylistic Creations in Radio Zulu

Radio Zulu is the biggest profit making station in the SABC. Its studios are presently in Durban under the Natal Broadcasting Unit in the New SABC. It has 15 announcers most of them between 30-58 years of age, including those who are about to go on pension. The research revealed that only six announcers have stylistic creations in their broadcasting. Two of these announcers are from the public affairs/news department, and the other four announcers present the musical programmes. Their stylistic creations show a lot of interface between oral and literal tradition, for example the use of Zulu spoken word and the influence of spoken English. Their broadcasting styles emulate that of announcers on Radio Metro, Capital Radio (604) and, partly, Radio 5.

Mchumu's (Kansas) Stylistic Creations

Mchumu Cyril Bongani (43), commonly known as 'Kansas City', is one of the top Radio Zulu announcers. He took

his name from the song entitled 'Kansas City', sung by the very popular American artist Count Bassie and his Orchestra. He presently features between 15h30 and 18h00 and also does the very popular Top 20 and *Akulalwa* (We do not sleep) every Friday.

He was one of the first announcers to use jingles in black radio. He had a lot of technologised stylistic creations in the late 1970s and early 1980s. His popular jingles were those incorporating his name 'Kansas City' in the lyrics. The most popular jingle was one which advertised him as well as Radio Zulu's announcer. It was composed and sung by a group called The No Name Brothers, and the lyrics were

*We bakithi lalelani
Umsakazo Wesizulu
Lalelani No Kansas City
Our people listen
To Radio Zulu
Listen with Kansas City*

Presently he has only one jingle which he extracted from one of the top American bands' song titled *Everybody*

loves *Saturday Nite*. This has nothing to do with his name or station except for his late Top Twenty programme which is always on Saturdays.

Analysis

Most of his present stylistic creations are dry and individualistic except one, which might be categorised as traditional, since it initiated the *izihasho* or praises. He praises himself as:

1. *Umfana omuhle*
 2. *Omuhle kunabobonke*
 3. *Abafana emhlabeni*
-
1. The handsomest boy
 2. More handsome than all other
 3. Boys in the world

We say these *izibongo/izihasho* resemble *izibongo* because of the devices employed in their composition. Firstly, there is the use of a hyperbole which is very rare in *izibongo* (Mkhize 1989). Secondly, there is both initial and oblique linking which features mostly in *izibongo*.

The use of a hyperbole in *izibongo* has not yet been researched. Mkhize (1989) noted the use of hyperbole in

King Zwelithini's *izibongo*. Abrams (1981:77) defines hyperbole as:

... extravagant exaggeration of fact, used either for serious or comic effort.

To be an *umfana omuhle kunabobonke* (The handsomest boy of them all) is both comic and exaggerated, whereas, *omuhle kunabobonke emhlabeni* is extravagant exaggeration. It is quite interesting that critics have overlooked the presence of hyperbole in *izibongo* but its presently realised in the composition of announcers' stylistic creations.

The oral art of this composition lies in all words employed here. The repetition of *omuhle* (L.2) is not only used for repetition but its function is that of emphasis, and that emphasis gains its power from *kunabobonke* (L.2). *Kunabobonke* may be explained as being parallel with *emhlabeni*. Though they are morphologically different, they carry the same implications.

This repetition may be termed aesthetic repetition. Kunene once commented on repetition of words and phrases, saying:

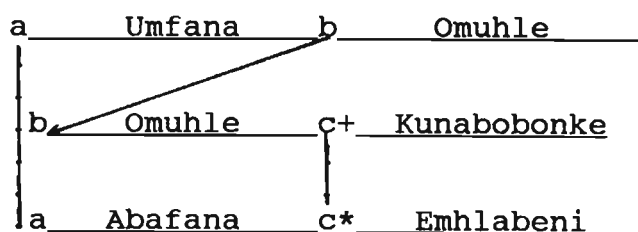
... in aesthetic repetition, selected words and/or phrases are repeated while additional ones are brought in as 'incrementing' phrases to advance the narrative, or the syntactic order is revised to attain emphasis.

(Kunene 1971:68)

Kunabobonke and *emhlabeni* are parallelisms of thought through the re-statement of ideas by direct references, whereas *omuhle* (L.1 and 2), *umfana* (L.1) and *abafana* (L.3), are parallelisms of grammatical structure through the repetition of syntactic slots (Kunene 1971).

This typically resembles punning which also involves words. This announcer, in his creation, plays more with words that will trigger our feelings whenever he is on air.

If we use the letters of the alphabet to label this aesthetic creation, we may end up with a diagram:



c* is stronger than c+ in its reference, since it may encompass c+. *Emhlabeni* refers to the whole world (universally), whereas *kunabobonke* refers to people in *emhlabeni*. This example shows that the power of repetition depends on the strategic positioning of incremental elements.

Another point of interest here is that of *umfana* (boy) and *abafana* (boys). These two elements/words are in vertical line repetition pattern, but their oral art lies in that the second form is the plural form of the first. Such parallelism creates more rhythm and development in the narration. Jousse (1990) once noticed that rhythm is clearly seen and felt during the performance.

Such an aesthetic creation supports Ong (1982) who holds that everyone in an oral culture expresses himself in formulas and, further still, not only does everyone talk in formulas, everyone in oral culture also thinks in formulas, since the repetition of words and phrases is the essence of a formula.

Other stylistic creations for Kansas are displaying a lot of literacy influence. They range from dry to technologised stylistic creations.

Before commenting on his dry individual stylistic creations, it is worth mentioning that almost all of his technologised styles are from records, television and other top white South African DJs. His two most popular jingles were:

1. 'Everybody loves Saturday nite' by The New Christy Minstrals
2. 'Excuse me to you Kansas City' by Van Morrison, who is popular with his country-blues music.

There is a feeling that the Van Morrison song was selected because of the mentioning of 'Kansas City' which automatically refers to him.

David Davies the then a top Radio LM DJ, had a strong influence on Kansas. He took Davies' popular slogan in those years and used it in his programmes with some instruments in the background. The lyrics are:

Wherever you are - wherever you may be

and he added his name at the end:

You are with Kansas City

His latest jingle is taken from a popular TV Series called '*Midnight Caller*'. The film, starring Gary, closes with the words:

Hello, and Goodbye America

Kansas' version in his live programmes is:

Hello South Africa

Usage of English in the black stations reminds us of Vygotsky's assertion that

... becoming literate profoundly changes what people know about their language and how they think about it.

(Vygotsky in Goody 1987:216)

It is not only the content of thought that is affected here, but also the process of thinking. To Kansas, both Zulu and English are more acceptable for personalising himself on air.

A few reasons may be given as to why most of his compositions are in English and only a very few are in Zulu.

The first reason may be that since he started as an announcer in 1973, all his programmes demanded English music, for example, pop, country and the disco-type music. The second reason may be a case of listening to too many other South African English stations or white services, for example, Radio LM and Radio 5, for personal improvement, which were regarded as the best in his formative years; the early '70's.

Kansas, in praising his station, says:

Radio Zulu, you are the best and you remain the best.

Also, to his listeners he says:

You just deserve the best, because you are the best,
and you will remain the best.

This illustrates his great pride in his station.

I am your man, I love you

The repetition of the word 'best' shows some characteristic of orally based expression. Such repetition might be done for emphasis. But Ong (1982) contented that redundancy or 'copiousness' is one of the major characteristics of orality:

Redundancy, repetition of the just-said, keeps both speaker and hearer surely on track.
(Ong 1982:40)

The other reason for repetition might be that the announcer is aware that as he is broadcasting, he is listened to by many people, since 'redundancy is also favoured by the physical conditions of oral expression before a large audience, where redundancy is in fact more marked than in most face-to-face conversation' (Ong 1982:40).

Even though Kansas sometimes uses English in his expressions, there are some artistic deviations in his compositions from the standard English sentence structure. Looking at his two common expressions, namely:

1. You got to come in your way baby
2. The one and the only, your man

Grammatically, when analysing the syntactic structure of the two sentences above, we realise that the normal syntactic structure is affected. In a normal conversation, the sentences will read:

- 1b. The baby has got to come in her way
- 2b. I am the man, and I am the only one for you

The syntactic structure of sentence 1 is commanding, challenging and forceful.

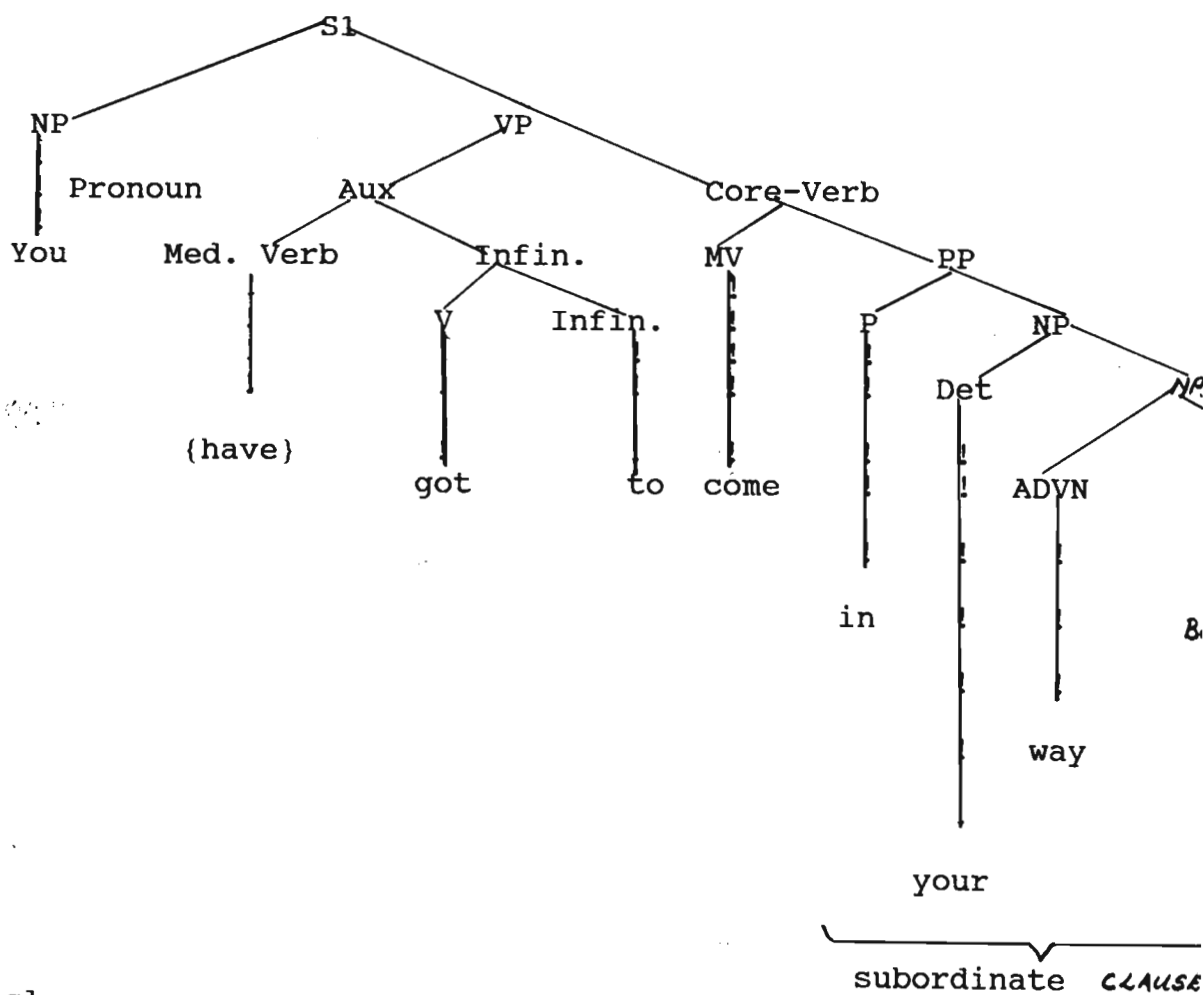
In sentence 1, the noun phrase (the baby) is pronominalised (you). If we can construct a diagram of both 1 and 1b for a full representation of their syntactic structures, we will see how the two sentences differ. Syntactically, sentence 1 can look like this:

You (have) got to come in your way baby
(Main sentence and subordinate adverbial phrase)

- a) main sentence
You have got to come ...

b) subordinate sentence

... in your way baby

Analysis

clause

Where:

S = sentence

NP= noun phrase

VP = verb phrase

Aux = auxilliary

P = preposition

V = verb

PP = prepositional phrase

Det = determiner

ADV N = adverbial noun
NP2 = second noun phrase
N = noun
Mod Verb = Modal Verb

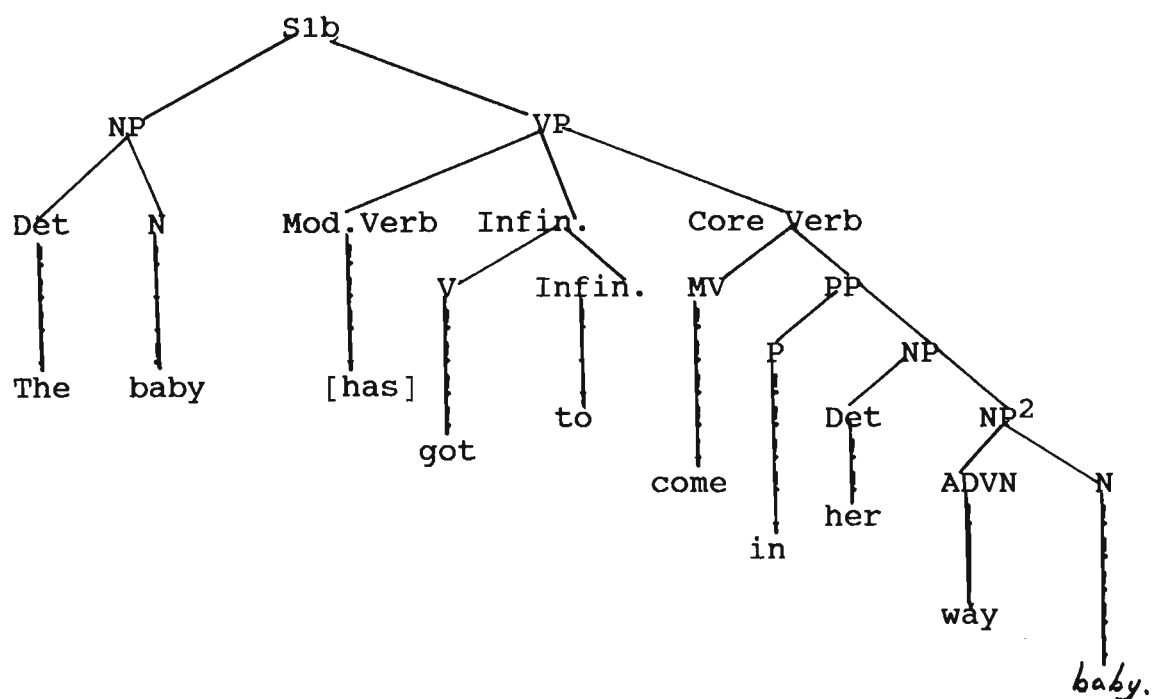
Sentence 1b will have the following structure:

The baby has got to come in her own way

a) main clause

The baby has got to come ...

b) subordinate clause
... in her own way



Without involving ourselves in complex syntactic theories, the method of representing syntactic structure visually by the use of tree diagrams (P-Markers) such as that in 1 and 1b is only one of the many alternative systems which have been devised by syntacticians, for example Chomsky in order to provide a visual representation of structure.

Such diagrams provide a visual representation of the hierarchical structure of the words in normal conversation.

The hierarchic structure of sentence 1 has three NPs whereas sentence 1b has only two NPs. The third NP in sentence 1 is a sign of redundancy. 'The baby' is repeated three times, through the use of pronouns (NP1 [You], NP2 [your] and NP3 [baby]).

To use the Chomskian language, S1b is the underlying structure of S1. S1b is the deep structure of S1. Also, Chomsky (1972) once remarked that the normal use of language is innovative in the sense that much of what we say in the course of normal language use is entirely new, not a repetition of anything that we have heard before, and not even similar in pattern. Therefore, the characteristic use of language, both by speaker and hearer, is innovative. The syntactic differences in sentences 1 and 1b supports Chomsky's contentions.

Without loading our thesis with linguistic diagrams few comments about sentence 2 ought to be made with no

support of a diagram. Sentence 2 in normal conversation will read:

2b. (I am) the man, and I am the only one for you

In its simplified form:

2c. I am the man and the only one for you

Further:

2d. I am the only man for you

The end structure of 2b, which is 2d, is less forceful than the original sentence 2. Tannen (1982) once noted that natural speech is more forceful and commanding than the written standard language.

What we notice here is what Ong (1977) strongly argues, that 'electronic verbalisation has restructured human consciousness, and brought about a kind of alienation. The new media enter the mind, producing new kinds of awareness and making possible new modes of thought'.

Although Kansas is broadcasting in the same milieu(that of black oral tradition) as his colleagues, the tradition

that he has in his mind is that of 'written style' or literate tradition.

Kansas also does have a few expressions in Zulu (like *Kulikhuni!*, meaning 'its difficult'), which are his colleagues compositions. The main one's that come to mind are those from his colleagues Mnisi and Nzimande (to be fully discussed below). They are, namely:

Shisa (Burn)
Woza (Come)
Ngeke (No! or Mmmm ... No!)
Ngempela (Really)

Mnchunu's adoption of musical artists' or bands' lyrics, TV and other white announcers' compositions proves what Jousse explained:

Surrounded by a world in which innumerable actions trigger other actions, man has very quickly developed the mimic gestures which he is compelled to sketch - in his entire action, sentient, knowing being, above all with his hands - when confronted by any object that interests him or by any action of that object on another object, which in time is mimed as an action.
 (Jousse 1991:183)

Interpreting Jousse's statement, with reference to our context of discussion, Kansas gets influenced by these 'expressions' and 'he quickly mimics these expressions or

gestures'. He finds himself compelled (by the new society he is broadcasting for, which has acquired literacy and started listening to other white radio stations) to sketch or use these slogans. His intention is to show to his listeners that he is also part of the fast-developing, technological world, like a bard (*imbongi*) who is part of his complicated oral tradition.

These expressions were at his disposal and he built them into his mind and came out for his listeners as his own gestures. This clearly shows 'the law of rhythmomimicry', where it is said: 'man is mimic, he receives, registers, plays and replays his actual experiences' (Jousse 1990:12).

The use of other colleagues' expressions, as given above, shows that he fully receives and registers them and later plays or says them on air. Man has 'an almost irresistible tendency to imitate' all that he hears, and describe it by means of one or more sounds (Jousse 1991:39).

Maybe such adaptations are the product of unconscious choices, as Ullman (1973) stressed, and that sometimes style would be regarded as the product of both conscious and unconscious choices.

The fact that Kansas is not the only Radio Zulu announcer to show literate influence in his broadcasting might bring us to another announcer who also shows such an influence in his stylistic creations.

VVO's Stylistic Creations

Velaphi Victor Mkhize (35) known as VVO (taken from his initials), who has personalised himself on air as the '*Boogie Funky Man*', presents live programmes from 19h00 till midnight on Radio Zulu. His recent popular programme is the Saturday party programme from 22h00 to midnight.

His first stylistic creation is composed around his full name, *Velaphi Victor Otty Mkhize*, hence VVO. The name *Otty* does not appear on his official documents, it is only mentioned on air.

He does not have many stylistic expressions except the following:

1. Boogie Funkie Man
2. Down in Durbs
3. The boy from Kwa-Mas'khiyane

Analysis

'To praise is a national thing with the Bantu tradition. So said C S Baper in Opland (1983). Why VVO was well known as *Boogie Funkie Man* was because of his colleague at the time, Edgar Mahlangu. He praised him as *Boogie Funkie Man* because of the funky music that VVO was playing in those years, that is from 1981-1987.

Normally, to 'boogie' means to dance and funkie music is a type of music that originated from America which is found in night clubs or discos. Edgar's praises might have implied that VVO is a man who likes to dance or make people dance, or a man who is a night club goer.

Down in Durbs was first mentioned on a commercial spot, but later became incorporated into the middle of musical programmes. 'Durbs' is an abbreviated form of Durban, an

influence from two white stations which are a great threat to Radio Zulu, namely Capital Radio 604 and Radio 5. Most of Radio 5 DJs when mentioning Durban, refer to it as Durbs, whereas on Capital Radio, it is only Dave Guselli who uses that. Of late, Radio Metro DJs have adopted the same style, namely Vusi Letswalo, Tim Modise and Lawrence Dube.

Grammatically, the expression *Down in Durbs* is an incomplete expression or phrase/sentence. If we analyse this phrase, we see that it behaves like an empty phrase or sentence. Firstly, the standard English sentence ought to have the formula:

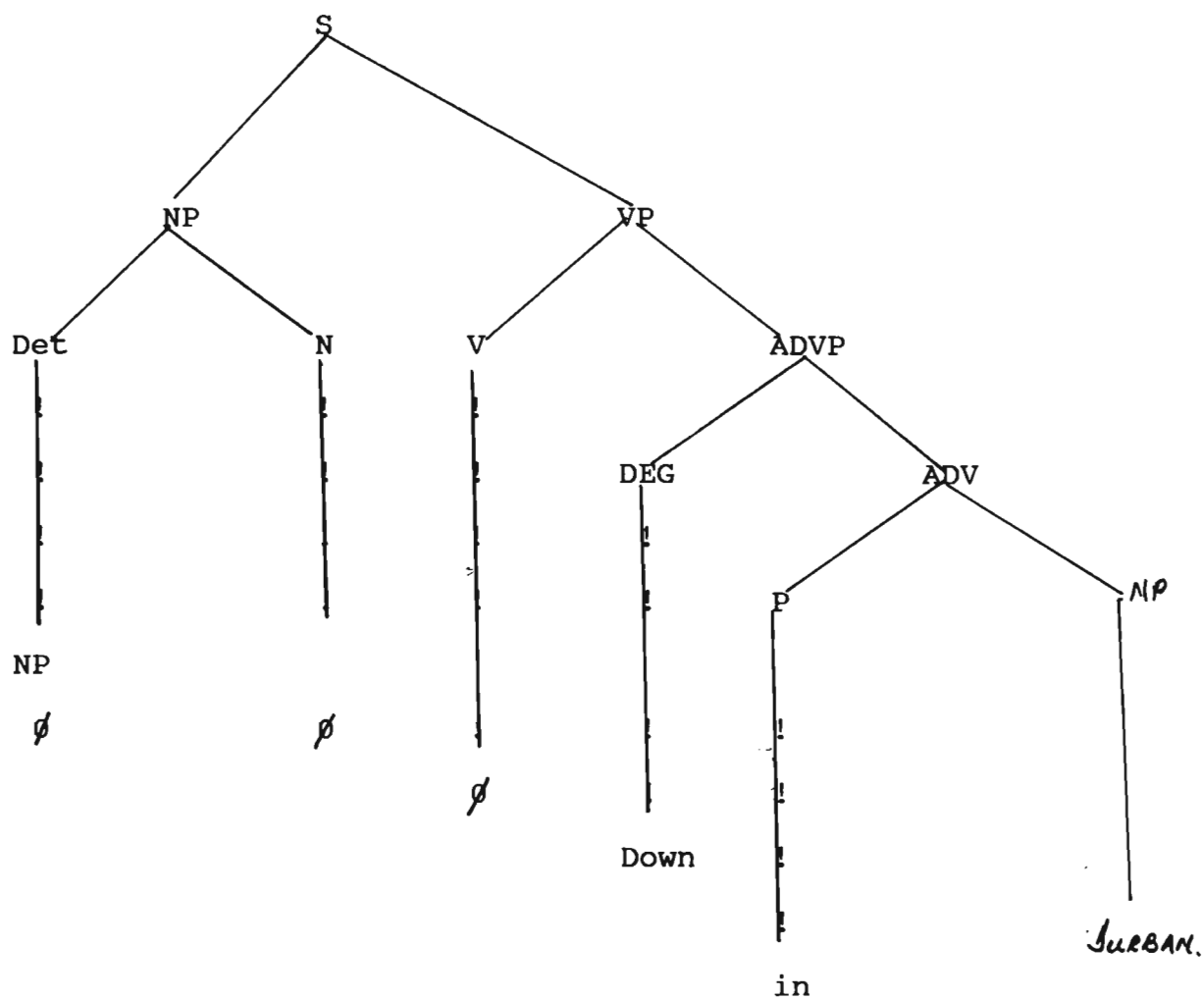
$$S \longrightarrow NP + VP$$

NP represents noun phrase and VP represents verb phrase. The NP has an article (art) and a noun (N) (as subject), and the VP has a verb (V) and a noun phrase (as object).

The expression, *Down in Durbs* ought to have the noun phrase and verb phrase in order to be an accepted English standard sentence. The phrase when being said on air, might be interpreted as meaning (i) we (Radio Zulu) are

broadcasting from Durban, or (ii) Durban is a city which is situated geographically 'lower' than Cape Town or Johannesburg. The exact meaning can be determined by the context in which it is said at the time.

In fact this expression is an adverb of place (ADVP) which is part of the verb phrase (VP). Using the Chomskian tree diagram, this can be represented thus:



Note the phrase structure rules are explained thus:

S = sentence

NP = noun phrase

N = noun

VP = verb phrase

V = verb

ADVP = adverb of place

DEG = degree adverb

ADV = adverb

P = preposition

The sign 0 indicates that which is absent.

This tree diagram shows what the sentence looks like when deviating from the normal syntactic rules of the sentence. This expression acts as phrase of a certain unknown sentence.

Such an utterance in Radio supports Hlongwane's argument that

We do not communicate in nouns, pronouns, adverbs and conjunctions in isolation; we communicate in clauses and sentences ... The clause can be realised into various grammatical forms depending on the intent of its utterance or production.

(Hlongwane 1984:339)

This example shows the way the information is presented and creates more aesthetic quality compared to the simple way of saying something.

Another popular expression which shows a great level of interface between orality and literacy is '*the boy from Kwa-Mas'khiyane*'. This construction is not far from sentence structures we saw in Kansas's creations. Interesting here is the coming back of geneological reference. VVO praisises himself as an important man, from a well known family of *Kwa-Maskhiyane* and that family was named after his great grandmother of his family, *Maskhiyane*. His usage of English expression shows an interaction of old and new material or formulas. Although he does not explicitly say:

I, VVO, the boy from Kwa-Maskhyane,

the context in which it is said and the fact that it is said by him, refers particularly to him, and he is proud of what he is saying.

Like Kansas' constructions, in the above construction there is an underlying subject which might act as NP, and (the boy) be NP2. Secondly the construction is lacking a VP since the normal sentence structure is (S NP + VP).

In order for this sentence to be complete we need such a construction:

I am (Name) the boy from Kwa-Maskhiyane

In the case of VVO it can be:

I am Victor, the boy from Kwa-Maskhiyane

Further still, it can be argued that the sentence has two independant clauses which can stand as full sentences, for example,

1. I am the boy
2. I am from Kwa-Maskhiyane

Sentence 2 qualifies sentence 1, i.e. it tells us more about the person who is talking (I am) that he is particularly from Kwa-Maskhiyane and nothing more.

Sentence 2 introduces a new element (Kwa-Maskhiyane) into the old element (the boy) which is known.

Such compositions by announcers resemble riddles, proverbs and the like, by being usually brief. The content is often more specialised. The Kwa-Maskhiyane, as in this case, and like other genealogies, presents

highly specialised information. Their briefness and topicality makes them close to other forms of oral cultures. These characteristics of briefness and topicality make them operate in the mind of the listeners like in primary oral culture 'where there is no text, the narrative serves to send thought more massively and permanently' (Ong 1982:141).

Wentzel's Stylistic Creations

Wentzel '*Sjula Somkhonto*' Mnisi (37) born in Mbombela, an old township in Nelspruit, is the most creative and influential announcer of Radio Zulu. He joined the service in the "early 80s" and gained his popularity mostly in his soccer commentary and in the youth musical programme *Ezamabhungu Namatshitshi* (Music for the Young Ladies and Gentlemen).

His compositions have been used by his colleagues within and outside Radio Zulu. He has even influenced the musical groups and songs have been composed from his stylistic creations. His spoken word has been more winged than any other announcer's words. He has more

than ten (10) creations which imply more 'to dance' or 'participation in the dancing process' than anything.

Wentzel's stylistic creation starts from his traditional praises, full of humour and satire. His expressions are dry, individualistic, and more humorous. His compositions differ from other announcers in that they are in a form of a dialogue, where there is a 'question - answer' dialogue. The following are examples:

- A: *Ukhona?* (Are you there?)
 B: *Angikho nje* (I am not there)
 A: *Uyasabela nje?* (Are you responding?)
 B: *Ngiyasebela nje* (Yes, I am responding)
 A: *Pho indaba kabani* (Ain't nobody's business)
 B: *Thatha lento wena* (Take this thing you)

Besides these question-answer dialogue expressions, he is known as '*Sjula somkhonto*' (the blade of the spear) which is from his praises which he inherited from his great-grandfather, who was in the Shaka regime which fought in Swaziland. He praises himself as:

1. *Sjula Somkhonto*
 2. *UMagwaz' eyikhuphula*
 3. *Umedlula kabili kathathu*
 4. *Okwendaba iya ensamu*
-
1. The short shafted assegai
 2. The one who stabs and lifts up

3. The passerby twice or thrice
4. Like a man approaching the back part of the hut

Like Kansas, some of his expressions are influenced by television. His popular expression:

Angikho (I am not present)

was first heard on TV2's popular comedy '*S'good, s'nice*', and was said by the main character *Sdumo*, played by Joe Mafela. But some of his other air personalities have even been used by many musical bands, namely:

Pho indaba kabani
Ain't nobody's business

by The J E Movement, and *Shisa* (to burn) by bands like Dr Victor, Mercy Pakela and many more.

Another expression that has been used by many artists in their songs, and even by people in the townships, is:

Walahl umlenze
You throw you leg

meaning 'to dance'. Big South African bands have composed songs from this expression, for example, groups

like *Abakhwenyana*, *Abangani* and The Soul Brothers, to mention but a few (this will be discussed further below).

Walahla umlenze expression has its variant:

Lahla lento
Throw away this thing

which is in contrast with:

Thatha lento
Take this thing

Analysis

With regard to the compositions given above (see appendix for others), a thorough analysis is needed so as to see their aesthetic value.

Wentzel's stylistic creations are all dry and individualistic. He has only one traditional composition which was inherited from his great grandfather. From those praises, he has inherited the name *Sjula* by which he is presently known.

Ambiguous language together with clever poetic technique is encountered in his praises.

Sjula somkhonto
UMagwaz' eyikhuphula

The short shafted assegai
The one who stabs and lifts up

UMagwaza is a metaphor derived from the nomino-verbal base *ukugwaza*, meaning 'to stab'. The ambiguity in meaning involves the word *khuphula*, which can also mean 'lift up or raise'. It may however also signify the movement of people - chasing them away in the battle field, for example:

Wabathutha ngeklwa lakhe, ebashay' ebakhuphula

He chased them with his short spear, hitting and lifting them

The whole allusion is couched in the last two lines:

Umedlula kabili kathathu
okwendada iya emsamo

The passerby twice or thrice
Like a man approaching the back part of the hut

The phrases *kabili kathathu* and *iya emsamo* conjures up a vivid image of a man who is worried and wants to fight or

revenge. We are told of a warrior who passes 'twice or thrice' and the war is finished.

In these praises we find the hero being praised as being 'sharp' like the 'blade of the spear assegai'. Two words *umkhonto* and *umsamo* (back of the interior of a hut) are from the oral tradition of the Zulus.

The use of *umsamo* as a metaphor implies the bond between the hero and his ancestors. It is believed that *umsamo* is the place where one goes if he wants to communicate with his ancestorws (Kuper 1980).

The warrior Magwaza is presented in a praiseworthy fashion as this is an obvious function the *izibongo* perform in presenting the leader of the nation in a positive manner.

Wentzel's other compositions as we mentioned above, brings back that lost tradition of a narrator - the audience's involvement in a dialogue like in folktales.

These compositions appear as a separate art form for the sophisticated audience of radio, in that he, as a performer, asks and answers the question. He does this in a form of a question-answer dialogue. Good examples are as follows:

Q: *Pho indaba kabani*

A: *Angazi nje*

Q: Ain't nobody's business

A: I don't know

Inviting listeners to co-operate, which is essential in the radio, he calls them:

A: *Ngiyakubiza nje*

B: *Ngiyasabela nje*

C: *Sabela phela!*

A: I am calling you

B: I am responding

C: Respond then!

These statements are said in a very rhythmical form in encouraging people to join and dance with more enjoyment. They express ideas of love and friendship. They typically accompany collective rhythmical movement, with this form of performer-audience.

The other rhythmical composition, which was very popular amongst his fans, colleagues, musical groups (see below) is:

A: *Shisa ... shisa*
B: *Shisa wena maan*

A: Burn ... burn
B: Burn you maan

This is an opening formula for his poetic gimmick.

1. *Thatha lento*
2. *Lahla ...*
3. *Lahl'umlenze*

1. Take this thing
2. Throw
3. Throw your leg

In these expressions it is the rhythm and the melody, not the words, that are the most striking aspects of this stylistic creation. The initial linking created by *lahla* (L. 1 and 2) forms a rhythm which provides the fixed framework with which the poem is developed. Expression 1 leaves us in darkness about the object that must be taken. Further still, the obscure object of phrase 2 is given in phrase 3. This poetry of the words results in a careful balanced piece of verse.

The verbal content of this composition is short and is often ephemeral. The words only live as long as they are said in the content of radio, but otherwise, they are dead. The word *shisa* has its own known grammatical meaning 'to burn'. But, here it has accommodated the meaning of the individual expression. It expresses the thought of 'dancing', 'participating' or enjoyment. *Shisa* has lost its formalized daily meaning.

It is not the meaning that is of importance in such compositions. The linguistic content, like in most songs (in our oral songs, for example, war songs, hunting songs, and many more), is relatively limited, and for the audience their main interest lies in the rhythm and the fact that they can participate (Finnegan 1970:145). Therefore, Wentzel's stylistic creations are not far from what Finnegan (1970) discovered when she was researching on special purpose poetry/songs. Firstly, Wentzel's compositions are about everyday matter like songs (cf. here, the expression *lahla umlenze* is often said at shebeens). Secondly, his expressions have their own special form like these oral songs, the times are simple

and rather repetitive with an insistent rhythm (cf *ngiyakubiza nje, ngiyasabela nje, sabela phela*).

The use of question-answer dialogue by Wentzel proves what happens in song composition in non-literate cultures, which was the involvement of co-operation, to create an emphasis both on performance and on participation by the audience which radio as medium needs the most.

The peculiar form of Wentzel's individual stylistic creations and rhythm are the main features that resulted in his expressions being emulated by other announcers, namely Kansas, as we indicated above and even by the most traditional innovative announcer, Welcome Bhodloza Nzimande.

Bhodloza's Stylistic Creations

So far we have considered different stylistic creations of different announcers ranging from the Sotho Group to the Nguni group which belonged to those individuals. For the first time we are going to treat stylistic

compositions, the origin of which is very difficult to trace.

Analysing Bhodloza's stylistic creations will be like impregnating this thesis with repetitions, since most of 'his' styles are also found in Wentzel's expressions. There are only a few that are really originally composed by Bhodloza.

Bhodloza was born in a remote rural area, ePhatheni, near Richmond. He comes from a family full of Zulu dancers (*Indlamu* people) and some of his brothers are *Maskandi* musicians, for example Umjibha noMtshokolo. All this has a profound influence on the presentation of his programmes.

When he joined Radio Zulu he preferred to present all the *Maskandi* programmes, *Mbube/Scathamiya* and some of the Zulu traditional programmes. His most popular programmes are *Sigiya ngengoma* (We dance with music), *Ezidla ubhedu* (The best songs) and *Ziqubuka olwandle* (They come from the sea), where he plays all his *Mbube* songs.

Most of his stylistic creations are centred around the slogans which are normally recited by the *Mbube* and *Maskandi* groups. His presentation is normally accompanied by whistles which is a gesture commonly found in *Maskandi* music.

His present common stylistic creations are:

1. *Mbrr ...*
2. *Woza ... woza ... woza mawe*
3. *Step bafana maan*
4. *Kahleni bafana*
5. *Walibamb' umfana walinika owangakubo*
Walishaya phakathi - kahleni bafana
6. *Ehhe!*

1. *Mbrrrr (just normal sounds)*
2. *Come ... come ... and you, come*
3. *Step boys maan*
4. *Hold on boys*
5. *The boys takes the ball and passes it to his mate*
And the brother scored it - hold on boys
6. *Yes!*

These stylistic creations are strongly associated with both his *Maskandi* and *Mbube* people. Those which he inherited from Wentzel are:

1. *Shisa!*
2. *Ngiyakubiza nje*
3. *Angikho ...*
4. *Ngeke/Mhh!*
5. *Ngiyasabela nje*

1. Burn!
2. I am calling you
3. I am not there (absent)
4. No!
5. I am calling you

Analysis

Bhodloza, in his stylistic creations, has worked like 'the young singer (who) acquires the formulas of his elders and establishes his own habits' (Lord 1960). The similarities that exist between his stylistic creations and those of Wentzel concurs with Lord's words that:

He (singer) remembers the phrases he has heard, sometimes whole lines, sometimes only parts of lines. From now on, for a considerable period of time, he will listen to his elders with more attention to the lines and phrases. He will pick them up from any singer whom he hears. As he practices singing by himself, he realizes the need for them and he uses them, sometimes adjusting them more or less consciously to his own needs, sometimes unconsciously twisting them. They are not sacred, but they are useful.

(Lord 1960:34)

Such adoption of expressions or formulas by our singer/bard from another older singer, shows that they are both working within one tradition.

Peabody argues this problem of adoption differently. His argument is that

... a singer is affected, not only by the memory of other singings, but by the phenomenalisation aroused by his own immediate compositional activity.

(Peabody 1973:219)

Marcel Jousse noticed the same among the living organisms.

His statement is that

These gesticulations, which are spontaneously re-enacted by the organism, are naturally used by man voluntarily and semiologically to re-enact his past *intuitions*, those mirror reflections of the actions of the cosmos into the midst of which he has been plunged. Not only does he re-enact these countless mimic gesticulations for himself, he re-enacts them for his fellow men, and even projects their characteristic phrases, like shadows, through the medium of mimeographic drawings, the earliest heiroglyphics.

(Jousse 1990:228)

Bhodloza has popularized these expressions even more than Wentzel. Bhodloza's own stylistic creations are also dry, individualistic and traditional. When greeting his listeners he praises himself as:

- 1 *Zibambe phela maqhude ayeqana*
Bhodloz' umuntu ngewisa
Kungabi ndaba zalutho
Sikuni joj' ilanga
- 5 *Enhla nasozansi kwelakithi*
Wayithatha ngulubana

- Wayiphonsa kuyena ushisanyama madoda*
Lena kwa-nyama kayipheli
Kuphel' amazinyo endoda
 10 *Woza nawe ...*
- 1 Hold up the roosters that compete for supremacy
 The one who beats up a person with
 A kierie with impurity
 Burning wood pierce the sun
 5 North and south in our part of the world
 You took it Mr Piglet
 You threw it to *Shisa-Nyama*
 In the land where meat suppliers are inexhaustible
 Only the teeth of a man are exhaustible
 10 And you too come ...

These praises are partly from his father who was known as *Maqhude ayeqana* and *Skhuni jojilanga*. Though he mentions his praise names, *Bhodloza* and *Ngulubana*, he does not forget his association with his progenitors. The whole description of his father is narrative, for example:

Sikhuni jojilanga
enhla nasegansi kwelakithi

Burning wood pierce the sun
 North and south in our part of the world

and metaphorical, for example:

Zibambe phela Maqhude ayeqana
 Hold up the roosters that compete for supremacy

The eulogie preceding the geneological reference is joined to the latter by an antithetic parallelism *enhla masezansi*, meaning 'north and south':

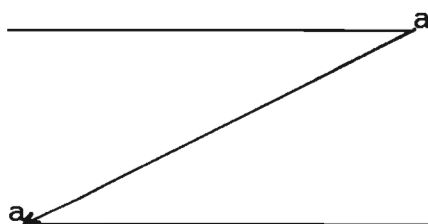
fundamentally constrasting ideas sharpened by the use of opposite or noticeable different meaning.
(Cudden 1979:49)

Antithetic parallelism can be both positional and also be based on meaning. A good example here is l. 8 and 9.

Lena Kwa-nyama kayipheli
Kuphela amazinyo endoda

In the land where meat suppliers are inexhaustible
Only the teeth of a man are exhuastible

Firstly, *kayipheli* and *kuphela* occupy two different syntactic slots, for example, diagrammatically they form:



Secondly, these two words have contrasting meanings, Kayipheli is negative whereas Kuphela is positive. Ntuli refers to such linking as oblique linking. Looking closely at lines 6 and 7, we notice that we have

parallelism of meaning which is used as a special type of linking:

Wayithatha ngulubana
wayiphonsa kuyena ushisa-nyama madoda

You took it Mr Piglet
 You threw it to *Shisa-nyama*

The action suggested by Thatha and Phonsa is the same, They both suggest an action, 'to take'. The first word means 'to take' and keep, whereas the second means 'to take and throw away' or do not keep.

Such use of verbs in parallelism or to achieve linking in contrasted forms leads to what Hainsworth (1968:85) refers to as formula modification. We appreciate the way Bhodloza chooses his words or language. Instead of:

Shaya umuntu ngewisa ...
 Hit the person with a kierre

he chooses 'Bhodloza', which happens to be his name, and is more stronger than *Shaya*. This also serves to sophisticate his message by hyperbolising it. He avoids the use of a daily language shisa, but instead prefers the use of a metaphorical poetic language, for example,

... *kwa-nyama-kayipheli*
instead of ...*Egoli*

Naming himself *Ngulubana* (piglet) is a means of creating humour. All his 'metaphorical names', and 'narrative names' are humorous, for example, *uShisa-nyama* (L.7), *Sikuni-joj'ilanga* ('Burning wood pierce the sun') and *Maqhude ayeqana* ('... the roosters that compete for supremacy').

Commenting on such names, Kunene says:

... most of what we have called narrative names are, in one sense, much more than that; in another, much less. In them historical fact is camouflaged in figurative language, and the result is poetry, not history.

(Kunene 1971:36)

Finally, he ends his praises by an expression *Woza nawe* which is an invitation to everybody to "come now".

The other good expression is that which he always says when taking commercial spots. The expression shows good forms of parallelisms, for example,

Walimbamba umfana walinika owangakubo
walishaya phakathi - kahleni bafana

The boy takes it and gives it to his brother
The brother scored it - hold on boys.

The content of these lines faintly indicates to us that the object here is the ball. It might be that there is no history behind these lines. He composed them just for the fun of it, like all other stylistic creations.

Structurally, we have both positional and meaning parallelism.

Umfana (singular) and *abafana* (plural) form a left-to-right linking. *Wali-* as initial linking in *walimbamba* and *walishaya* has brought harmony between two words whose roots are morphologically different. So the link here is forged not by using roots but by using the objectival concord *wali-*, indicating a specific object reference to *i(li)bholā*, meaning 'ball').

This objectival concord *wali-*, also shows some continuity of action. In *walinika owangakubo*, *wali-* tells us that the ball, though it was caught (*walibamba*), did not end there. A second action happened, that of passing it to his mate. That action was successfully fulfilled hence

the word *phakathi* (inside/in) which is a covert noun. This fulfilled action culminates in a contextual sentence *kahleni bafana*.

Such use of language in a spoken language shows that announcers in their creations are also conscious of the grammatical structure of their language though sometimes they do deviate from the normal grammatical constructions. Mostly they deviate if they want to accommodate foreign words in their creations:

Step bafana maan
Do the step maan

The introduction of an English word *step* forced the initial noun class vowel /a-/, in *abafana* to be deleted so as to make the whole expression rhythmic. The Afrikaans *maan* was still going to be accommodated even if the initial noun class vowel was not deleted. It has nothing to do with this /a-/ deletion.

We have mentioned that language is a continuous generative process where all utterances are but moments and pauses, consisting of live, crowded and empty words, in a

continuing dialogue to-and-fro between speakers. Thus in announcers' stylistic creations we come across words which are 'sounds' with no meaning. But once they are said on radio, certain meaning gets attached to them. Bhodloza uses a good example of this. It comes in two variants: (i) A ... *mbrr* and (ii) *Mbrr* ... He normally says this if there was a 'pause' on radio, i.e. off-air for technical reasons, or if he takes a commercial break. This 'expression' proved to have no meaning, but his listeners understand it very well and it has gained a great deal of popularity.

Such 'words' prove that radio has a totally different way of using language. It allows us to create or produce our own individual identity by means of the various overlapping systems we learn to speak. Hartley's words that

... the system doesn't dictate **what** we say, it determines the **way** we can produce language that is understood as meaningful by ourselves and others
(Hartley 1988:6)

are a good summary of such 'empty words' stylistic creations.

It has been shown that Bhodloza's stylistic creations are both dry, individualistic and traditional. His compositions have all the *izibongo* poetic features. The structure of his praises and expressions sometimes shows more aesthetic forms of parallelism than *izibongo*, for example, antithetic parallelism based on meaning achieved through different grammatical constructions. Very few levels of orality-literacy interface are noticeable in his creations. They are well accommodated in the grammatical structure of Zulu.

Thokozane's Stylistic Creations

Our research proved that even news and actuality announcers do have their own specific stylistic creations. News readers are normally very formal and no air personalities are expected of them. This is because news is the point of contact between people and politics, between the public world of debate and discussion. News is often credited with a great rhetorical power of its own.

Thokozane Ernest Nene (43) and Themba Gasa (48) are two news and actuality announcers who were discovered to have

their own humorous stylistic creations. Thokozane Nene, to start with, is well known and has been criticised for his language usage when reading news. He normally uses metaphorical language and archaic words in his news reading. He gained his popularity from his listeners, by using praises of different Zulu kings at the end of his news bulletin. This led to the creation of his own *izibongo*:

1. *Ugxaba lembadaba umanyathela*
2. *Untombi zimcela Uxolo*
3. *Namhla ephuthuma*
4. *Unkomo inezoso kwelakubo Kwa-Zulu*
5. *Ngobl' uxam' unezoso*
6. *Kwelakubo kwelase Ndiya*

1. An old Zulu sandal fine dancer
2. The one that women run after
3. Even when he is in a hurry
4. The beast that provides meat in his home place, Zululand
5. Because the iguana provides meat
6. In his home place, India

Other compositions for Thokozane are:

1. *Khuz' imoni*
2. *Kulomuzi*
3. *Gane*

1. Shout at the morning
2. In this house
3. Child

Though this sounds like a short poem, it is normally sent on air in single words. They are normally said after the news bulletin or in the middle of actuality programmes.

Analysis

As a man with a gift for metaphors, Thokozane is very fond of using archaic words or fossils from the Zulu Kings' *izibongo*. Sometimes he extracts lines from various *izibongo* and says them at the end of the news bulletin.

Looking at his praises, we come across different metaphors and associations with some other objects. There are instances where lines sound as if they are referring to specific events in which he was involved:

UNTombi zimcela uxolo
Namhla ephuthuma

The one that women run after
Even when he is in a hurry

These lines paint a picture of a handsome man, who is always approached by maidens but who has no time for them. It is a statement contradictory to the Zulu culture and tradition since normally it is a man who approaches the maidens. But he, as Thokozane, is an exceptional man, a

man who has experienced a lot of things. He does not liken himself to an old *Mbadada* (Zulu sandal); he is the *Mbadada* with a lot of experience and victories, *UManyathela*.

This sketch is well formed by the use of metaphors formed from both nouns and verbs for example, Nyathela-Umanyathela. They are knitted together by special grammatical prefixes. The subjectival concord (SC) ma- is the ordinary prefix found with numerous nouns in the Zulu language. The SC u-, which is in class 1 (which is exclusively the personal class), has been used in the formation of these metaphors. *U-Gxaba*, *u-Manyathela* from the verb *nyathela*, and *u-ntombi* from the noun *intombi*. Without troubling ourselves with grammatical constructions, the *izibongo* proves to use a lot of such constructions which easily make them differ from the daily use of language. Such grammatical constructions are like traditional elements which the oral poet always uses to facilitate the rapidity of composition in performance. Lord once said that

To him they are not merely necessary, however, they are also right. He seeks no others, and yet he

practices great freedom in his use of them because they are themselves flexible.

(Lord 1960:142)

Thokozane's praises culminate in a point where he compares two cultures or traditions: the Zulus, where they only consume the meat of the beast, and the Indians, where they only consume the flesh of the guana (L.4-6).

All he does in the above lines is to expose his Zulu oral tradition or culture as a Zulu man who knows that culture, against the culture of the Indians. Some Indians do not eat the flesh of the cow because of respecting it as a 'mother-giver of milk' because of getting milk from it. Thokozane associates the Indians with the 'guana' which is a useless animal in Kwa-Zulu as far as eating its flesh is concerned. He does not suggest that they eat guana, but it is their tradition.

This makes the *izibongo* sound humorous and satiric. Without putting the Zulu tradition above if compared to the Indian tradition, his comparison forces us to look down on the Indian tradition and laugh at it. The oblique

linking construction in lines 4 and 6 formed by *kwelakubo* (at his land), reveals a 'pride' in him and the Indians. He realised that if he excluded this word in his construction, the praises would not easily achieve what he was intending. If the construction was:

Unkomo inezoso Kwa-Zulu
Ngob' uxam' unezoso
Kwelasendiya

The beast that provides meat in his home place,
 Zululand
 Because the iguana provides meat
 In his home place, India

It would not have the impact it has. It is a general statement not attached to anybody. *Kwelakubo* highlights that he is (i) born in Kwa-Zulu, (ii) very proud of being a Zuluman, (iii) proud of his tradition which eats the flesh of a beast and, (iv) must never be associated with the Indians, since the guana is poisonous to a Zuluman.

This shows the pride the black announcers still have in their broadcasting careers. Their stylistic creations are more for personal identification than just mere sayings on air. They reveal pride through using the richness carried in their language of using archaic and metaphorical words,

though sometimes they do put some foreign elements in their constructions. A good example here is his expression:

Khuz' imoni
Shout at the morning

Imoni is literally taken from the English word 'morning', and the whole expression means 'Greet the morning!' But the word *moni* developed the expression to another level. *Moni* has now acquired a new meaning of referring to liquor, especially beer. It is now understood by his listeners as meaning *bhabhalazi* (hangover), especially on Mondays. In black townships, *moni* is popularly known as 'beer'. It is even coupled with the expression *kulomuzi gane* (in this house, child). This adverbial construction *kulomuzi* refers to the shebeen, and *gane*, from the noun *ingane*, refers to 'friend'.

The word *gane* has a pleading implication, of encouraging those with hangovers to go to the shebeen where they will be cured of their suffering.

The word *khuz* from *ukukhuz* (to shout at), is more forceful than if it is used with its normal noun class

prefix uku-; also *gane*, if it is used with the class prefix *in-* carries more associations.

Such usage of words makes what the composer has in mind more imaginative. It gives a word a measure independence and sums up everything easily.

Robins (1964:223) once mentioned that

In taking the words as the bare grammatical unit, one may say that the heart of grammar is that part which deals with the patterned interrelations of words in the sentence of a language and with the means of analysing them stating them systematically.

Gasa's Stylistic Creations

As a senior radio Zulu journalist and top humourist in the station, Themba Gasa (48) has lowered the standard of news reading through the use of his humorous styles. We are saying this because Hartley (1982) has also commented that 'news is often credited with great power of its own'. But on the other hand, such 'power leads to a dangerous imbalance between those who control that power and the rest of us' (Hartley 1982).

Value judgements could be passed on Gasa's tendency to intersperse news items with touches of Izibongo or Izihasho: What is relevant to note is that his air personality is felt strongly even in formal programmes such as the news.

He is popularly known as TG which is from Themba Gasa, initials of his name and surname. His most popular expression of greeting is

Heshe!
There you are!

which later developed to a phrase:

Awu Heshe!
O! There you are!

and was sometimes coupled with:

Kwangiphinda lokho
Now, its happening again

These are his top stylistic creations.

Analysis

Grammatically in Zulu, *heshe* is an interjective which is coupled with ideophone words, and they both occupy the

predicative slot in a Zulu sentence. Heshe can also function as an ideophone. Syntactically, it can be a full sentence on its own and it can be preceded by certain words as in

Awu Heshe!

and it can precede some other words, for example:

Heshe, nsizwa
There you are, young man

When we looked at *Heshe* we categorised it under crowded words in that it is both an ideophone and an interjection, either syntactically or morphologically. It has all the ideophone features, such as, verbs can be formed from it, for example, *hesheza* (salute a person). That is why this expression was easily further developed to a phrase *awu Heshe!*

Awu Heshe is a traditional way in a Zulu culture of greeting a person, especially amongst males. In the old tradition, when men meet, they normally say: *Hheshe* or *Hheshe mfoka-Dlamini* (There you are, Mr Dlamini). Gasa always uses it when greeting his listeners for the first

time, and if he reads a second news bulletin, his greeting style changes to:

Kwangiphinda lokho

This expression sounds satirical in that one may say Gasa here is scorning or ridiculing somebody. It is more of an individual satire. It might be directed at his superiors or colleagues, in that he says, 'I am still reading the news up till now' or 'I have been reading news all along, now I'm tired'.

We normally use such expression to show that (i) you have once experienced something and it was bad, (ii) you are worried about it happening again, (iii) you are now tired of it, and (iv) you are no longer prepared to do it or experience it. It might be a skilful attack on a person or situation. But on the surface, it sounds more like a satiric comedy.

Pollard, commenting on satiric comedy, says:

Satiric comedy makes fun but accepts, it criticises but appreciates, it laughs at but also laughs with its butt.

(Pollard 1970:5)

That is why Gasa is considered the most humorous announcer.

What is noticeable in his creations is that objects in his expression are always absent, if it doesn't get represented by other speech categories. In:

Awu Hheshe!

we are not fully told who it refers to, but we assume it is to a listener. And:

Kwangiphinda lokho

-*Ng*i- is a subjectival concord referring to the person speaking and the object is represented by the demonstrative *lokho* (that). These two expressions act as clauses. According to Hlongwane (1984), the clause may be a simple sentence containing a predicate or it may be any unit containing a word that has a predicative function of value.

Awu Hheshe is more of a nuclear clause, i.e. a clause that has a predicative slot. It is a representational sentence

in that it represents the existence of another person who is being greeted. *Kwangiphinda* also has a predicative function with the verb stem *-phinda* and *-ngi-* (SC) and *kwa-* which indicates the remote past. *Phinda* (do again) is the root which got modified from its primary shape by these grammatical markers.

From the above expressions, stylistic creations seem to be more grammatically complicated in that they are spoken, dependent on the content for their meaning and sometimes far-fetched. Gasa's artistic expressions seem to be individual stylistic creations and fully dependent on the content for their meaning. They are more suggestive and implicative than specific. They might be easily misinterpreted if not well listened to.

4.2.3.2. Stylistic Creations in Radio Xhosa

The analysis of radio Zulu's stylistic creations has shown that we are dealing with two people, the speaker and the listener, who are living in the same moment of time. The word got to be harmonized and be rhythmized in order

to be attractive to the listener. It was realized through praises, names, short phrases that language is a word. And speech fills the infinite gap that separates us (Ellul 1985).

Stylistic creations in Radio Xhosa are different from those of Radio Zulu. We do have in those radio Xhosa expressions formed around names, either initials or full names or surnames that get developed to a full air-personality, others from the oral tradition of the Xhosas.

The stylistic creations of Radio Xhosa differ from those of the other services namely Sotho group and Radio Zulu in six ways.

1. They have a tendency to add new elements to the already existing expression,
2. The others seem to use a great number of empty words. They only acquire meaning through their use in the musical context,
3. They are all dry and individualistic and nothing technologised,
4. When names/surnames are used, they capitalise on some significant sounds in order to form alliteration and assonance,
5. They are more tuned to the 'beat' of the concerned programme,
6. They are dry, individualistic with no geneological references.

Most of Radio Xhosa's stylistic creations are like a dialogue where the announcer says them on air, and listeners knows how to respond, i.e. semi-equivalent to Mnisi's question-answer style.

The research into Radio Xhosa revealed that only 6 announcers have stylistic creations. They centre around advertising oneself and are used when taking a commercial break. In this writer's opinion, the most creative announcer of them all is Zola Patricia Kaso.

Kaso's Stylistic Creations

Every spoken relationship requires the mutual participation of the one speaking and the one listening, united in the same present moment.
(Ellul 1985:38)

Kaso's stylistic creations encourage more of an announcer-listener participation. Her question-expressions prompt people to phone immediately. She blames her listeners, scolds them, praises them, plays with their feeling through the use of her stylistic creations which are centred around her name/surname.

Kaso (39) is widely known as *Makazi*, *Mazozo*, the aunt of everybody. *Makazi* and *Mazozo* are names with no meaning even in Xhosa, but formed for her programmes. Whenever she starts her programme on air she greets her listeners by saying:

Masambe (Let's go!)
Masambe lahla (Let's go throw it away)

When encouraging them to join her, she always has in mind that there are those who are still hesitant to join and hence her expression:

Lomtana
 This child

Her stylistic creations are:

1. *Makazi*
 2. *Sthandwa lovie*
 3. *Uyandibiza Makazi?*
 4. *Masambe lahla*
 5. *Mazozo*
 6. *Zola Mazawu Makazo Kaso*
 7. *Uyazilahla wena*
 8. *Lahl' ithumbu*
 9. *Ayi! Ayi! Ayi!*
-
1. *Makazi*
 2. *My lover lovie*
 3. *Are you calling Makazi?*
 4. *Let's go, and let's dance*
 5. *Mazozo*
 6. *Zola Mazawu Makazo Kaso*

7. Are you getting frustrated
8. Throw the *ithumbu*
9. No! No! No!

Analysis

Kaso normally broadcasts programmes like Party-time on Saturdays (*Batshise Mbhawula*), gospel programmes, Hits of the Day and youth programmes.

She started composing her expressions by using both her name and surname to form the air-name. She is *Makazi* which is from *Kaso*. *Structurally or morphologically, this expression consists Makaziof Ma and Kaso.*

The Ma- alone indicates that it is a female (Doke 1926). In her composition she realised that she has to use that formative *Ma-* so as to fullfil the function of being an aunt of the whole family. The *Ma-* of *Makazi* and that of *Masambe* (let's go) creates a rhythm. She talk to her listeners and later she replies

Uyandibiza Makazi?
Are you calling me Makazi?

We find here, the use of the 2nd person form. Though it is Kaso who says it, its said as if its the listener that is replying. She uses what we noticed in Sjula's expression, the question-answer format, the dialogue. Here there is a difference in that it is a statement-question format rather than the question-answer format. In her statement question format, if listeners don't reply; then her next statement is:

Andifun lonto
I don't want that

She does not like their silence, they must talk. This is normally said in her phone-in programmes. *Andifun lonto* is a contextual sentence, a sentence that represents something said before. *Lonto* (that) is the major object/subject which is not supposed to be done. But what?

Masambe (let's go) gets developed to a popular expression:

Masambe lahla
Let's go throw away

Masambe is a spoken short form of *masihambe*, or it may have its other form of *sihambe*, all from *hamba*, meaning

'go'. These sentences are in the subjunctive mood but there is an overlapping them. Often, the subjunctive belongs to the declarative sentence. But it may also belong to the interrogative (*sihambe*) and the imperative (*masihambe*).

Without getting into the ambiguity involved here, this expression is more imperative (*masahambe*). The elision of vowel *-i-* of *-si-* and the stem consonant *-h-* makes the expression from sound more forceful.

Lahla is from the old expression, *walahl' umlenzo*, we observed in Wentzel's composition. Here it is used with another word *ithumbu* (Intestines).

Kaso has several examples of this, namely:

1. *Lahl' ithumbu*
2. *Uyazilahla wena?*
1. Throw the intestine
2. Are you throwing yourself?

Conceptually, *lahla umlenzo* means 'to dance'. It might happen that *lahl' ithumbu* is a variation of the former, since as the expression stands it has no meaning. It is unlike the expression *uyazilahla wena?* which might be

interpreted as 'Are you tired of yourself?' In both Zulu and Xhosa, there is an idiomatic expression which says:

Ukuzilahla amathambo

meaning 'to do something after realising that you have no other option'. It might be a recreation from this old expression:

Each performance is the specific song, and at the same time it is the generic song. The song we are listening to is 'the song'; for each performance is more than a performance; it is a re-creation.

(Lord 1960:101)

The addition of new formulas to the old ones show some re-creation. From *lahla umlenzo* (throw the leg) we have expressions like:

1. *Lahla, lahla umlenze*
2. *Lahl' ithumbu*
3. *Uyazelahla wena?*
4. *Masambe lahla*

1. Throw, throw the leg
2. Throw the intestine
3. Are you throwing yourself?
4. Let's go, throw

The whole creation is formed around the root *lahla*. In the context of radio, all these stylistic creations are centered around the performance of 'dancing'. The

announcer is encouraging people to come and dance and, at the same time, asking them whether are they really dancing. But, all in all:

Each theme, small or large - one might even say, each formula - has around it an aura of meaning which has been put there by all the contexts in which it has occurred in the past. It is the meaning that has been given it by the tradition in its creativeness.

(Lord 1960:148)

By playing around with her names, Kaso created a nick-name or *isihasho* for herself:

1. *Mazozo*
2. *Mazawu*

-zozo and -za- in the above are from the name *Zola*. In these expressions she plays with sound to create an empty word. This gets developed into her long meaningless expression:

3. *Zola Mazawu Makazi Kaso*

and immediately she admits that you don't understand what she is saying:

4. *Sungayazi, Sungayiqondi*
You won't know, and you won't understand

What is important in phrase 3 is the alliteration formed by the sound -z- so as to let the expression get into the minds of the listeners easily. Such use of a word as in phrase 3 reminds us of Ellul (1985) when he said 'our "word" has no noticeable effect on a situation, is never an immediate programm for action'. In expressions like:

Ayi! Ayi! Ayi!
No! No! No!

we find the word transformed into image. It is a matter of imagining what happens if such words gets uttered, since 'images are communication par excellence' (Ellul 1985).

Kaso's stylistic creations prove to be best when she plays around with sounds. Her expressions are dry and individualistic, only directed at the listener for the encouragement of participation. She does not use them for taking commercial spots like other announcers, they are meant for the creation of the performer-audience relationship through statement-answer techniques.

Zolani's Stylistic Creations

Zolani Bhongco (30), popularly known as 'Izor-man', is rated as one of the top announcers in Radio Xhosa. Originally from East London, Zolani joined the station on 1 September 1987.

He presently presents the following programmes:

1. Gospel music
2. 657 ballads (Quiet storm)
3. *Amaciko*
4. Hits of the day
5. *Batshuise mbawula* (Party-time)
6. *Ezemdlalo* (Sports)

We are listing his programmes because almost all his stylistic creations are tuned to the beat of these programmes. Other expressions are taken from the programme titles themselves, for example, he sometimes calls himself 'Mr Quiet Storm' which is taken from his '657 ballads' programme.

His stylistic creations are a mixture of both English and Zulu, with some formed around his names, namely:

1. *Izor-man*

from Zolani,

2. *ZB*

from his initials,

3. *Lazozo*

4. *Zolani Hee*

formed from the initial sound zo- of his name. And:

5. *Bongcee*

from his surname. He has only one clan name, namely:

6. *Gatyeni*

and two other phrases

7. The sweetest taboo

8. *Ndibuz' indithi nca*

Analysis

Zolani's dry individualistic stylistic creations, especially those formed around his names, are normally used in all the dance programmes like 'Hits of the Day' and 'Party-time'. They are used for identification at the beginning as well as sometimes in the middle of the programme.

Structurally, some of these expressions are meaningless 'words'.

Though in 'Izor-man', we are told of a certain man 'Izor', it is very difficult to know the meaning of 'Izor'. The same applies to the composition *Lazazo*. There is not even a variant of this word in the Xhosa language. But what is interesting is the use of sounds, in the formation of the whole expression. The repetition of -z- consonants makes the expression respond in the minds of the listener. Sometimes this -z- consonants is repeated for the formation of a rhythm.

Normally, in the formation or creation of *izibongo* in oral cultures, it is the word with its sounds that is basically important. The sounds which formed that particular word are the key to that composition. For a line to be rhythmical and easily recited, it must have melodiously and artistically formed words. One sound may get repeated in all words which are part of that line, for example:

Isiziba esinzonzo sizonzobele
The quiet deep pool is more quieter

This line (from Dingaan's *izibongo*) is dependant on these words which are harmoniously and rhythmically pronounced because of the -z- and -nz- sounds.

The expression '*Bhongcee*' is another good example. The deletion of the terminative vowel -o- in his original surname *Bhongco* and the addition of double vowels -ee makes the word sound different. Such a change has caused two changes in his surname. It has lost its original meaning as we know it and made it sound Anglicised.

'*Bhongcee*' is like a word 'further reduced within the technical framework to the level of a mere instrument. The word becomes vain because of babblers and it becomes an instrument because of techniques' (Ellul 1985).

The sweetest taboo and *Ndibuz' undithi nca* ('ask and ask until you ask no more') are both used in his ballad programmes.

Ndibuz' undithi nca is taken from the Xhosa idiom *buz' uthi nca* ('ask until you ask no more'). This idiom is normally used when referring to somebody trying to search

for information, especially secretive information, where others know that he will never get the answer. For Zolani, the expression refers to his compilation of music. It means 'I won't tell you who compiled such good music, you will ask until you ask no more'. And the programme is likened to a 'taboo' which is 'sweet' - sweetest taboo. But the statement sounds contradictory: though 'taboo' refers to something negative, it is easily accepted because of being qualified by 'sweetest'.

In some of his programmes he refers to himself as:

Gatyeni

which is the clan name. This explicitly tells us that he is Bongco from the Gatyeni clan. It is interesting to see that he does not bother much about praising himself or giving more clarification of his clan name by mentioning other clan names (cf Sotho group).

In Zolani's stylistic creations, the word is at the mercy of all sorts of winds and changes. Names and surname get changed easily to suit what is being desired. Sounds

prove to be important in a word, more so than the word itself.

Bhacela's Stylistic Creations

Peter Bhacela (45) from King Williams Town is a top presenter of choral music as well as documentary and discussion programmes.

Being influenced by choral music and the Xhosa oral tradition, most of his stylistic creations are traditional or refer to the traditional behaviour or traditional rituals.

Most of his stylistic creations are from the lyrics of different choral songs. They are said when he runs a commercial or greets his audience. He is the only announcer who has no stylistic creations formed from his names or surname.

Bhacela's age may be a contributing factor to that. Perhaps his age restricts him to having to make all these air-personalities for the sake of identification. Also, another factor might be found in the type of music and

programmes he is presenting: normally in black society (see SABC Annual Report 1988-1989), choral music, as well as documentray programmes, are enjoyed more by a matured, elite class of people. The youth gets frustrated when there is a lot of chatting on radio. A programme can be a determining factor on one's stylistic creations.

His stylistic creations sound more traditional and conservative:

1. *Nik' umtwan' ibhayilakhe*
2. *Uqhakazile mtwana*
3. *A! Mtwana!*
4. *Ntanga yakho*
5. *Thath' into yakho*
6. *Dithi qhi*

1. Give the child his/her blanket
2. You are bright, my child
3. O! My child!
4. Your mate
5. Take your thing
6. I am here

Others are from Afrikaans:

7. *Lekker!*
8. *Hopsaai!*

Analysis

Bhacela's stylistic creations are short phrases which their literal meaning are far from the way they are used in the context of radio. They are referring to some other doings/behaviour or affairs which are not even related to any media, for example, newspaper, radio and television.

To illustrate this, take expressions 1 and 2 above. Their meanings are far from the way one might think of in radio.

Phrase 1:

Nik' untwan' ibhayilakhe
Give the child his/her blanket

refers to two things. Firstly, it might refer to the Xhosa traditional ceremony of slaughtering a goat for feast where the child, now one year old, is accepted into the family. The skin of that goat will be her blanket (*ibhayi*). Secondly, it might refer to a maiden blanket (*imbeleko*) that is normally used to carry the baby at the back. The expression might refer to either the 'family baby acceptance' or the normal clothes for carrying the baby.

Since this expression is used when referring to the 'commercial spot', it might be interpreted as referring to the 'family acceptance' or 'family baby acceptance'. Such an assertion is supported by the other expressions, namely,

- 2. *Uqhakazile mtwana*
- 3. *A! Mtwana!*
- 5. *Thath' into yakho*

- 2. You are bright baby
- 3. Oh baby!
- 5. Take your thing

Once the 'family acceptance ceremony' is done, the 'baby'/'child' gets accepted as a member of the family and her/his future is considered to be bright, hence expression 2 *Uqhakazile mtwana*. Expression 3 *A! Mtwana!* automatically supports 2 *Uqhakazile mtwana* Expression 5 *Thath' into yakho* is said when the child is being shown that goat/beast which is going to be slaughtered for her.

The expressions:

- 1. *Nik' umtwan' ibhayilakhe*, and
- 5. *Thath' into yakho*

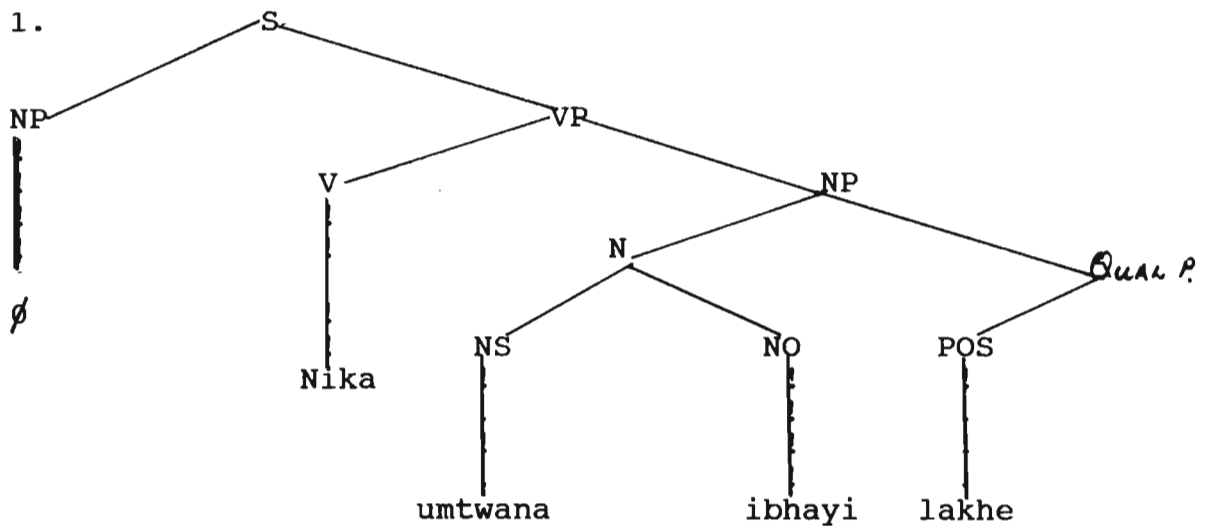
are taken as expressions which are identical. In the underlying structure of expression 5, we have the implied or implicit subject *mtwana* which is explicitly said in

expression 1. Also, the object in 5 is not called by its name and is referred to as *into* whereas in 1 it is explicitly said; *ibhayilakhe*. Thirdly, *thatha* (take) and *nika* (give) are equivalent. In the process of taking and giving, there is one action involved.

Diagrammatical illustrations within the framework of the transformational model might give us better insight into what we have been explaining. Though it is not within the scope of this study to schematise each and every example, diagrams will only be used where a thorough explanation in support is to be done. Nevertheless, the expression:

1. *Nik' umtwan' ibhayilakhe*

will be schematised thus:



Qual P = qualificative phrase

Pos = possessive

NS = noun subject

NO = noun object

and:

Thatha into yakho

(Take your thing)

will have:

S -----> {NP} (0) + {VP} V (NIKA) + {NP} pr (INTO) +

{QUAL P} Poss (YAKHO)

Linear structure.

Thath' into yakho

will be schematised thus:

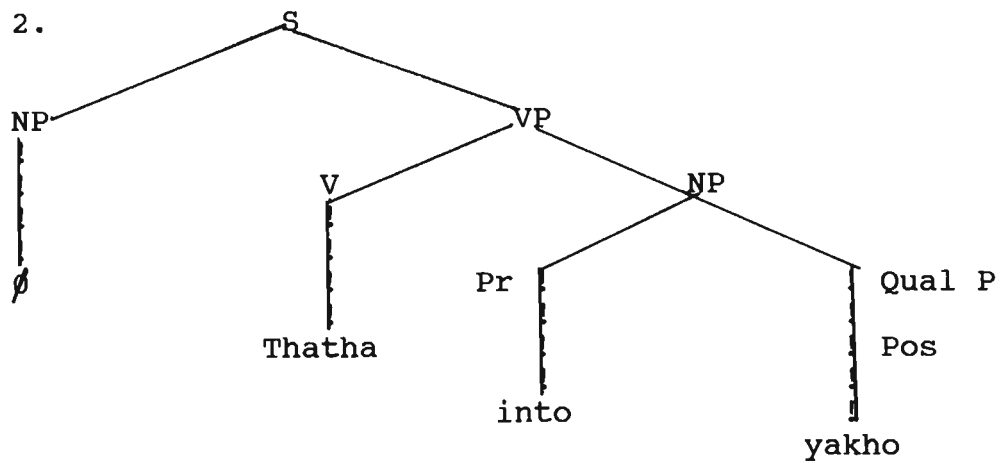


Diagram 1 is more complicated than 2. The NP with two nouns, *umtwana* and *ibhayi*, are said in one word, a pronoun *into*, in diagram 2. Both sentences have different qualificative phrases: in diagram 1, the 3rd person is being referred to, and in diagram 2, the 2nd person is being referred to. Such reference shows some dynamism in the process of referring to different listeners when broadcasting on radio.

Sometimes expression 1 is developed to:

Mnik' umtwana into yakhe

The subject is mentioned here, and the sentence sounds more forceful or authoritative. Such composition is an example of what Lord (1960) calls the 'adding' style. In the adding style, there are formulas which get added to the old formula without disturbing its syntax.

The peculiarity with these expression lies in their syntax. Expression 1 in normal speech can be:

Umtwana mnike ibhayilakhe
The child give her/him blanket

As *Thath' into yakho* can be:

Into yakho ithathe
Your thing take it

This shows the deviation of radio language from the normal daily language. In fact, we do start sentences with verbs sometimes in daily language, but that happens under certain conditions, i.e. when commanding most of the time.

Something has been said about a contextual sentence above. Bhacela's stylistic creations all show the characteristics of being contextual sentences. But more than that they

also resemble what Hlongwane (1987) termed 'text sentence':

This is a sentence which is recognised as such in written discourse by a person who has internalized the structure of a language. It is to be observed that the recognition of a sentence by the listener or reader implies that the person who makes that sentence, meant it to be understood as such by the listener or reader. A text-sentence is therefore viewed mainly in the context of other sentences which may either precede or follow it. There is also individual and emotional involvement in such sentences.

(Hlongwane 1984:23)

Such sentences deal with a traditional narrative discourse. They are very common in folktales where one has to internalise the language first before you understand or follow the idea of what is being said.

Bhacela also uses stylistic creations which are foreign to the Xhosa language. These expressions are

7. *Lekker*
8. *Hopsaai*

'Lekker' is an acceptable Afrikaans word meaning 'nice'. 'Hopsaai' morphologically and phonologically resembles the Afrikaans words but is not in the list of standard Afrikaans words. It is an empty word which has been

pushed to another totally different language. When said on air it is always accompanied by another empty phrase:

Dithi' qhi!
I say ?!

This phrase might be termed an ideophonic expression or a straight forward expression. *Qhi!* is an ideophone referring to no action like, for example, *bhakla!* which may mean the action of falling. In Zulu we have a variation of *Qhi!* which is *Gqu!* meaning 'going somewhere and comeback soon, which is far from *Qhi!* Such hesitations raised by *Qhi!* makes the whole phrase meaningless. However, when used on radio it refers to the 'commercial spot' together with *hopsaai*.

Such compositions shows the personal idiosyncrasy of expressions, which are peculiar and individualistic in which the announcer organises his thoughts so that his stylistic creations are easily identifiable (Msimang 1986).

Bhacela's stylistic creations are easily identifiable in that they are individualistic and dry ,are traditionally

based, resemble both contextual and text-sentences, and are easy to memorise, for example

The expressions

1. *Uqhakazile mtwana*
2. *Ntanga yakho*

are gimmicks that can be easily said by listeners in moments of relaxation.

Msimang's Stylistic Creations

Msimang, in the presentation of his two top programmes, International Top 20 and Jazz-ballads.

uses nicknames more than traditional praises or technologised stylistic creations. His compositions are from his name and from the kind of music he plays. From his name is:

Lifas

from Lifa, and from the music he plays:

1. Master Blaster
2. Jazz Professor
3. Your Super DJ
4. *Difaqane*

Analysis

Difaqane, to start with, is historically based. *Difaqane* is a Sotho word which in Xhosa is *imfecane*.

Imfecane/Difaqane was a chain of events caused by Shaka's attacks during his era. People like *Ngoza* who was from *Bathenjini* ran to the *Emsinga* area, and *Ncaphayi* moved to the *Bhacaland* and *Mzilikazi* decided to revenge by killing other people. Such movement can be associated with the action of the sea waves, where one wave forces the other to move and so on. By giving himself a nickname of *Difaqane*, Msimang might be telling us that he is originally from the family, clan or tribe that was affected by this *Difaqane*. It is also amazing why he chose a Sotho word rather than an existing Nguni word - *imfecane*. It may have been that he wanted to win some Sotho speaking people for his station, or it may have been for another reason such as being influenced by Sotho language (cf. 5.1.5.).

Two stylistic creations in Msimang's compositions are from other sources. Firstly, 'Master Blaster' is the name of a top American jazz artist. Secondly, 'Your Super DJ' has an outside influence, namely from the night clubs and other stations DJs. Because he presents with the jazz programme, he decided to call himself Master Blaster. 'Master Blaster' usually plays the flute and he is presently popular in contemporary jazz.

Many DJs are presently calling themselves 'Super DJ'. Jimmy Comfort Dlamini, a Radio Zulu announcer based in Johannesburg, calls himself 'Super DJ', and a Radio Thohoyandou announcer Edgar also uses the very same air-personality. This makes it very difficult to ascertain who used the expression first. The expression has even affected the night clubs. One of the most popular night clubs in Durban has a DJ, Muntu Khoza who also calls himself 'Super DJ'. Some respondents or informants are convinced that the expression originated from Radio Bophuthatswana ('Radio Bop'). They argue that it was an expression that was first used a lot by the DJ Edgar Digkole. It might happen that these other DJs took the expression from Edgar, since when Radio Bop came on the

air, it was tough competition for the SABC stations. The SABC announcers had no alternative except to copy the gimmicks of their competitors, since they could not compete by playing all the music that was played by them for their listeners.

'Jazz Professor' is always said in Msimang's jazz programmes. The term 'professor' is also a commonly used term in the show business world. It normally refers to an expert in a particular musical field. As an illustration there is Thami Mdluli, a South African disco music artist who calls himself 'Professor Rhythm', for his good compositions. The second example is Jeff Tissiman of Radio Zulu. He is given the title because of his knowledge of radio technicalities.

Msimang, because of his jazz knowledge, calls himself the 'Jazz Professor'. Such a word, with its academic connotations, might be used to inform the listener that s/he is listening to somebody who has researched the work or who has vast knowledge of what he is doing or saying. Such words create confidence in the announcer and the listeners assume they are listening to the best product.

However, in the oral tradition a bard has all the rights of naming things or the hero the way he sees it. The same applies to the announcer who is the 'singer' in the new era of oralism, the oralism of radio and television. Msimang's stylistic creations are dry and individualistic but show a lot of literacy influence.

Makaza's Stylistic Creations

Vuyani Makaza (36), popularly known as 'Video', has a totally different form of stylistic creation. His stylistic creations are all technologised, appearing in the form of jingles. It is interesting to see that they were firstly written down and later given to school children to be sung. They are professionally recorded in the studio and mixed together with some instrumental music. They are normally said in both English and Xhosa, namely

1. *Nguban' ixesha* Video Special?
2. *Siyakuthanda*, Video Special
1. What's your time Video Special?
2. We love you, Video Special

'Video Special' is his name carrying the first consonant of his name Vuyani. These jingles are normally played in his programmes, namely Local Top 20, Hits of the day and Golden Oldies. Expressions 1 Ngubani ixesha and 2 Siyakuthanda are sung by children who sound excited with that welcoming voice. Whereas the stylistic creation:

Video, Video ...

is a jingle in which the whistle features and some musical instruments. It is sung by two ladies. This develops to an expression.

What do you want in front of the mirror?

There is only one composition that is dry and that Makaza always sends as his greeting to the listeners, namely:

Wowu! Wowu! Yaqala inkathazo
Oh! Oh! Here starts the problem

He has no traditional or traditionally based stylistic creations. No praises or geneological references that can be pointed in his air-personalities.

Analysis

Makaza's stylistic creations show the interface of orality and literacy. Is the use of English done purposely? Won't the jingle be attracting if its only done in Xhosa? Is it not a sign of redundancy to say one and the same thing in two different languages? McLuhan seems to have an answer for these questions. We are in the 'age of anxiety' and:

'The medium is the message' is a look-around to see what's happening. It is a collide-oscope of interfaced situations.

(McLuhan 1967:10)

The 'interfaced situations' in which we live forces us towards such use of languages. We do it to try and satisfy all people we think are outside there as our listeners. Makaza's creations show new technological ways of managing the word, though the use of whistles and musical instruments which are here the electronic transformations of the word.

Other reasons of such an interfaced situation may be that Makaza wants to prove that both the old and new medium can be used simultaneously. Using both Xhosa and English expressions emphasizes that:

A new medium of verbal communication not only does not wipe out the old, but actually reinforces the older medium or media. However, in doing so, it transforms the old, so that the old is no longer what is used to be.

(McLuhan 1967:25)

English reinforces the Xhosa expression and makes it ring easily in the minds of the listeners.

The singing done by children in some of these jingles is not only to engage their participation but it also enables the children as listeners to share the emotions expressed by the jingles together with the announcer. This participation makes children feel that the radio is theirs and the services it is rendering is for them as listeners. In this way these 'jingles' tend to identify more with the announcer. In the jingle:

Video, Video ...

they are calling him to come and make them happy. They always ask him for the time, which might be a worry that his time of entertaining them is too short.

These songs or jingles are unlike the songs we find in folktales, where we have the solo which is sung by the performer and the chorus which is sung by the audience.

Here, the expression is sung by the chorus only which comprises school children. There is only one that is sung by a female soloist:

What do you want in front of the mirror?

As an illustration it was easy to reproduce this expression with its staff notation.

```

{ | : m l- : .m | d : m. | s : s | l : m | - : r
{ | what are | you doing in | front of the

  | d : - .m ! s | }
  | Mir      ror | }

```

As these expressions are being sung, they perform the same functions as the songs did in folktales. Normally, songs in folktales are a means of audience participation, dramatise the action and, play a significant role in developing the plot. But in this case, they dramatise the action and invite participation from the audience.

Taking the expression: what are you doing in front of the mirror, represented in a staff notation, one might ask to whom the expression is directed and what its relevance in the context of radio. The only possible answer might be a

'television'. The listener is being told not to sit in front of the mirror (TV) but rather to listen to the radio. Also, the use of English to express that, shows that he is talking to the elite class glued on their television, hence they must be addressed in English.

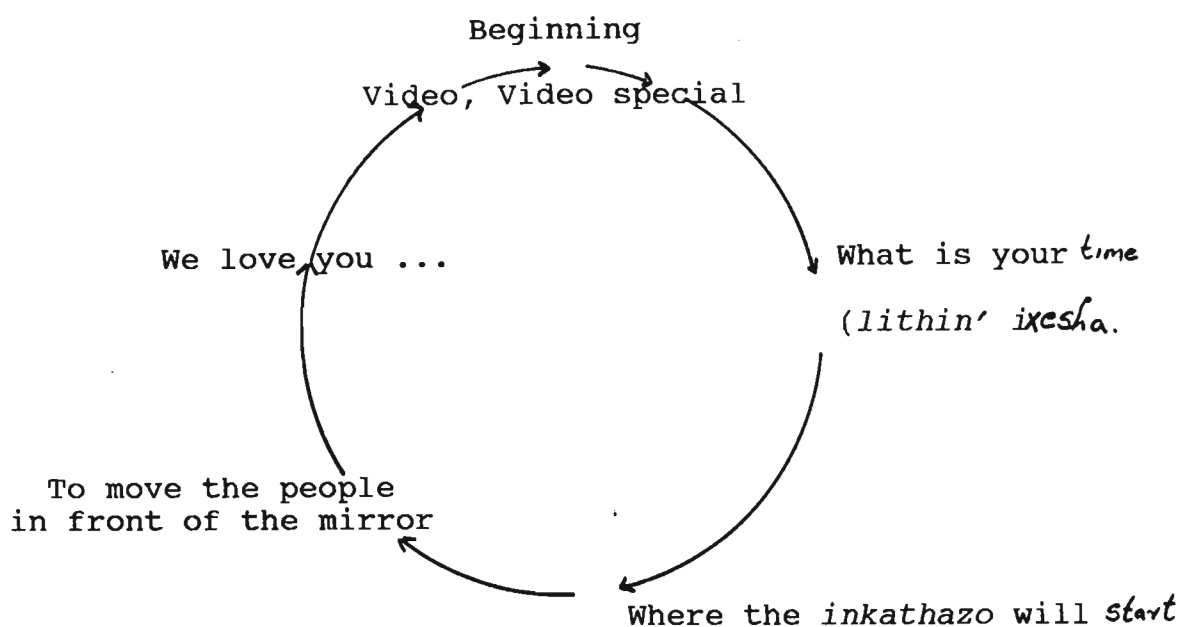
There might be a feeling that this expression is a development of the expression:

Wowu! Wowu, yaqal' inkathazo!
Oh! Oh the problem starts now!

It is the *inkathazo* (problem) caused by the radio if he starts going on air. The *inkathazo* grabs all the television viewers, and they must move away from it. The expression might mean: Here comes the biggest competitor of Mr Television. In a roundabout way, these stylistic creations seem to form a complete circle of a 'story'. The story-line that can be formed from these expressions can be:

Video, Video special, what is your time, when the *inkathazo* will start to move people in front of the mirrors, because we love your video special.

To show that this is a complete story that starts and ends again at the beginning, can be shown thus:



The expression '... because we love you ...' is completely shifted back at the beginning. 'Video, video special'. This shows that not only can stylistic creations be taken at face value as mere ordinary expressions meant to personalise announcers, can also be strictly narrative and a good story can be formed from them, which can either be sung or narrativized.

Vuyani Makaza has further technologised the word and made it doubly winged through involving music in his stylistic creations.

Nomsobo's Stylistic Creations

Velelo Nomsobo (33), born at Tsolo in the Transkei and presently residing at Kwa-Magxaki, is a top presenter of 'Reggae Music' and 'Morning Requests' in Radio Xhosa. His other programmes are '*Eziqaqambileyo*' and '*Mtabezikude*'. These two latter programmes are down tempo musical programmes. Normally he alternates the weeks on *Eziqaqambileyo*, where one week he plays new releases and the next down tempo releases. His stylistic creations vary from programme to programme or with the beat of the music compiled for that programme.

His stylistic creations are all dry and individualistic. They show no traditional connotations or any references to traditional or geneological aspects. They show the influence of orality and literacy influence.

Nomsobo is the only one who has no stylistic creations centred or composed around his name. Rather than that, he has named himself 'Doc' which is short for 'Doctor', as he calls himself 'Doctor of Reggae Music'. He shows the strong influence of his colleague, Makaza , in his expressions:

Question: Doc, what's your time?
 Answer: I don't ...

Doc's expression resembles Kaso's style of question-answer dialogue, and its not sung by any people or technologised like those of Makaza.

His other expressions are directed at specific people in society which leads listeners to associate him with these people or to think of him as belonging to that class.

Examples here are:

1. *Kunjani Mapantsula?*
2. *Hayi maan nhonho!*
1. How are you Mapantsula?
2. No! Maan lady

The last stylistic creation has an African traditional connotation, namely:

Amagubham pha!
 My drums here!

Doc's stylistic creations show no use of foreign and archaic words. They are directed to the listeners, just for participation.

Analysis

Nomsobo's stylistic creations have a question-answer dialogue which we also noticed in Kaso. This was also noticed in Wentzel's stylistic creations on Radio Zulu. But Nomsobo differs in that his 'answer' is incomplete if compared with the other two DJs mentioned here. The answer to the 'question':

Doc, what's your time?

is simply:

I don't ...

instead of:

I don't know

It might happen that we are demanding more than what we hear in the normal conversation. But, normally the spoken language should have redundancies rather than throwing away some words. If we only hear the expression: 'I don't', one feels that there is something wrong. The elimination of some words (as it happens with the elimination of 'know') will cause some strain on the psyche in preventing expression from falling into its more natural patterns.

On the other hand, such elimination of a word can be defended successfully. One may argue that in radio, during broadcasting, time is too limited. Radio on its own creates its own environment of communication which has a more limited scope than the normal face-to-face environment. In radio, although dependent on the spoken word, one ought to be rhythmical, precise, and contextual. The moment you try to achieve that, you immediately deviate from the normal way of the spoken discourse. Radio as hot medium (as McLuhan termed it), is high in participation or completion by the audience.

The other incomplete expression is:

Amagubham pha!
My drums here

Firstly, *amagubhu* is a plural of *ugubhu* meaning the African drum. Sometimes it is referred to as *isigubhu*. *Isigubhu* is a traditional instrument not only in the Southern hemisphere but in Africa as a whole. Drums were a way of communication in most of the African countries, namely: Congo, the Cameroons, and other West African countries.

When this expression is said on radio, it causes no specific meaning, except that one might think the announcer 'wants his drums back'. Instead, he should mention or inform us more about his *amagubhu*. But because of radio's limited conversational environment, we contextualise that Nomsobo needs his drums back. This expression is usually said if he takes a commercial spot.

Nomsobo's last two stylistic creations are:

1. *Kunjani Mapantsula?*
2. *Hayi maan nhonho!*
1. How are you Mapantsula
2. No maan nhonho

Mapantsula refers to a group of young gangsters - as opposed to the gangsters known as *tsotsis*. Mapantsulas usually wear tight trousers and have their own type of dance style called *Mapantsula jive/dance*. They are a group of people who move with all kinds of fashions that seem to influence the township youths, like hairstyles, ways of walking, and so on. This expression is not exactly directed to them but is an informal way of asking the 'weather'. But Nomsobo uses the *Mapantsula* because even if its raining or cold you will never find a *Pantsula* wearing a coat or jacket. They always wear

trousers and a shirt. To them the weather is always fine and sunny.

Asked why he chose the *Mapuntsulas*, he said *Mapuntsulas*, seem to be the most influential people at the moment. Everyone who is young wishes to be like them. Secondly, Nomsobo is sarcastic if he asks them the weather, as he knows well that they do not wear anything more than a shirt. This expression has made Nomsobo very popular with the *Mapantsula* gangs.

Hayi maan nhonho is usually said in the middle of the record. *Nhonho* refers to a 'lady'. This expression is an encouragement to the ladies not to sit down but to stand up and dance. It is an invitation to participate. *Nhonho* is his own creation, and the word does not exist in the Xhosa language. It is like a bard who uses his poetic licence in the creation of his own words. The expression shows the influence of Afrikaans *maan*. *Maan* seems to be popularly used in black services. Others have a tendency of saying 'Ag maan', for example, Welcome Nzimande , Wentzel Mnisi (Radio Zulu), Mahlangu D P (Radio Swazi) and many more. It has been taken as a form of appreciation. If somebody praises or appreciates a

good song 'Ag maan' is the response. Nomsobo , is therefore not an exception to his. He is like

... a singer who is affected, not only by the memory of other singings, but by the phenomenalisation aroused by his own immediate compositional activity.
(Peabody 1975:219)

Nomsobo's stylistic creations do not bother about praises or the use of his name, as is the case with other announcers. His compositions are context bound, dry and individualistic.

However, the analysis of Radio Xhosa stylistic creations shows all the characteristics we outlined at the beginning of our discussion. An attempt will now be made to show how those of Radio Ndebele differ from or emulate those of Radio Xhosa.

4.2.3.3. Stylistic Creations in Radio Ndebele

Radio Ndebele, presently under the Northern Transvaal Broadcasting Services, has seven announcers. Out of those only two were discovered to have stylistic creations. It is a station that broadcasts for only five hours a day with mainly young announcers. They have no announcers above the age of 40, unlike the other black

services. These announcers stylistic creations are dry, individualistic and are mostly empty words. They are words with no grammatical counterparts in Ndebele language. Some are sung when said on air, some from the public or the society. The most creative and influential announcer is P D Mahlangu, popularly known as *Thiza Thiza*.

Mahlangu's Stylistic Creations

When we were trying to outline what a word is, it emerged that the word itself is a linguistic though neutral sign; it is capable of infinite re-appropriation within different types of utterances. It was even commented that it is the ideological phenomenon par excellence.

Such above expressions get accepted more readily if looking at Mahlangu's (34) stylistic creations. The same expression makes it difficult to say what a word is. Most of Mahlangu's his air-personalities are utterance-tokens (Lyons 1977) or gestures (Jousse 1990). They have no indication of any grammatical possibilities in the Ndebele language. Examples here are:

1. *Sprokoriko*
2. *Spotoriko*
3. *Punka Punka Batho*

4. *Sacka Sacka*
5. *Aya Aya Aya*

Most of these gimmicks are to entertain the children, for Mahlangu is the top presenter of the youth programmes in Radio Ndebele. Sometimes, in his 'live' programmes, he uses them with the addition of

6. *Ayoba Ayoba style*
7. *Thiza Thiza Aha Aha*
8. *Jive Spotoriko*

Other expressions do sound meaningful as they are developed from the above composition. They are attached to some of these meaningless expressions:

9. *Skhuluma ispotoriko*
10. *Sangena no Thiza Thiza*
11. *Wangena kwathul' umoya*
12. *Sithatha amagadanga*

Expressions 1-8 are not translatable since they have no meaning. Only expressions 9-12 are translatable:

9. We speak spotoriko
10. Here we come with Thiza Thiza
11. When he comes there was silence
12. Lets take steps

Analysis

Mahlangu's stylistic creations are totally different from linguistic systems, of Ndebele. Those expressions are

spontaneous and prove to be unconsciously uttered. They are language gadgets as Flesch (1951) said. Flesch spoke of words which cannot form a sentence and refer to nothing outside the language. He termed the words 'empty words'. Expressions 1-5 are good examples here.

Language gadgets can be either words by themselves or parts of words. Examples like 1 sprokoriko and 2 spotoriko are words with no meaning. Morphologically, they do fit into the expected structure of a word in Ndebele. In black languages the normal syllable structure is 'CV-' and nothing like 'VC-'. And words with the letter 'r' are very rare if not nonexistent in the Ndebele language. The use of 'r' as part of the syllabic structure of those two words removes the words from the expected morphological structure of a word in Ndebele grammar. Nevertheless, the syllable structure 'CV-' is achieved.

This means that even if the announcer creates his or her own expressions, and they are meaningless, they fall within the grammatical structure of that language.

Expressions like *Punka Punka*, *Aya Aya Aya* and *Sacka Sacka*, sound partly like words by themselves and partly

as parts of other words. Firstly, *aya* may be looked at as a part of an incompleting word. Ndebele as a Nguni language, has a syllabic structure which is totally different from that of Sotho or Pedi, as they are Sotho languages. In Nguni languages it is very rare to find a 'VC-' syllabic structure, whereas in Sotho languages it is possible, for example *batho* ('people'). In Nguni language we have *abantu* ('people'), which is 'cvc-'. We delete the initial vowel in Nguni languages, but only under special constructions: for example *Mkhize*, instead of *uMkhize*. It happens in verbs, too: for example *gijima* ('run'), *phuza* ('drink').

Aya has a 'cvc-' structure which forms a complete syllable on its own. The same applies to *punka* which is 'cvcv' structure. *Sacka* follows the same pattern but, surprisingly enough, in Nguni there is no such structure like 'ck-'. *Sacka* sounds foreign to the Ndebele language. It might be borrowed from the English word 'suck' and became *sacka*.

It is interesting to note that even though these words or parts of words have no meaning, they conform to the grammatical rules of the Nguni languages. This shows

that an announcer is well equipped with yardsticks and standards and rules for language grammar or spelling.

These examples show that a word is a sign-token, that is a physical utterance which need not have meaning or be defined. Ellul says that

... what is spoken or told must be in effect a transformation of word into image.
(Ellul 1985:152)

Expressions 6 and 7 have a totally different history if compared with others. Firstly, *Ayoba ayoba* is originally from *ayobayo* which was first heard from the South African reggae artist Lucky Dube, on his album 'Slave'. Later, it was used by the band called the 'Hard Workers'.

According to Lucky Dube, *ayobayo* has no meaning, but was just said as part of the song. To the 'Hard Workers', it is a special type of dance or jiving which originated in the Northern parts of Pretoria in the townships like Mamelodi and Attredgeville. Here its used for entertaining the youth in the programme that Mahlangu always presents on Saturdays.

Secondly, *Thiza* is a name of Themba Wanda, who is a musical artist. He composed a song called '*Thiza* is my

name', released by CCP record company under EMI record company in South Africa. Themba Wanda called himself *Thiza*, from the name 'Themba'. Mahlangu chose to call himself *Thiza* which is not even attached to his names.

Whenever Mahlangu greets his fellow youth in his programmes, he sings this expression:

Sangena Thiza Thiza
Here we come Thiza Thiza

Expression 8 and 9 gives a totally different message altogether. Firstly, they 'jive *spotoriko*' and secondly they 'speak *spotoriko*' (*sikhuluma ispotoriko*). This has an implication that whatever they do is *spotoriko*. They speak it and they dance it. They (announcer and listener) know what they are doing but only in the context of radio.

It must be mentioned that there are also foreign elements in Mahlangu's stylistic creations. *Jive* and *batho* two foreign elements in Ndebele language. *Jive* is from English and *Batho* from Southern Sotho, meaning people or *abantu* in Ndebele. This shows that foreign elements in stylistic creations can either be within or without the language itself (cf. 5.1.5. below). Maybe, Mahlangu, by

using *batho*, is also aware that he is not only broadcasting for the Nguni speaking people, but also for the Sotho speaking people.

Expressions 9-11 are normal daily language expressions. They advertise *Thiza* and even explain to us what happens if he comes. There is silence (*Kuthul' umoya*) and nobody talks because *sikhuluma ispotoriko* an ununderstable language. Expression 11 is a highly constructed expression in that it encompasses both urban and rural.

Mahlangu's stylistic creations consist of abstract and even meaningless words. In some of the stylistic creations, the language is heavily affected. Mahlangu is one of the youngest announcers whose, individualistic stylstic creations are almost all dry and empty.

Irvin Kekana's Stylistic Creations

Irvin Kekana (32) is the presenter of Radio Ndebele Top 20, as well as the top hits of the day. He is from Mamelodi in Pretoria, and still staying there. His township background has influenced his style of broadcasting.

His stylistic creations are mostly in English and he uses the vocabulary of the township in their creations. He has no praises or *izihasho* or technologised stylistic creations.

Irvin's stylistic creations seem to have added elements from Mahlangu's performances. He took Mahlangu's basic compositions and added his own phrases. A good example is

Sacka Sacka

which is an expression from Mahlangu, and Irvin develops the expression to

1. *Sacka sacka* to come nice
2. Jive *punka* my baby

Jive and *punka* in 2 are also originally from Mahlangu. Like in an oral tradition, Kekana has been listening to Mahlangu and later added his own expressions to what his colleague created. Irvin has lived like a singer where

... with years of experience the singer becomes an active listener to the songs of others. The really talented oral poet combines listening and learning in one process. The listening is then dynamic and can be said to constitute in itself the first rehearsal of the new song.

(Lord 1960:78)

and

Each singer in the oral tradition is at liberty to change any individual verse, and even to modify larger portions of the received work as he sees fit, as long as his audience does not prevent him from doing so by its protestations.

(Duggan 1973:88)

Irvin resembles those poets and singers who worked in an oral tradition. His other compositions are in Ndebele, also dry and individualistic. He calls himself

- 3. *Umbani wezulu*
- 4. *Umtlhankan kabhabha*

- 3. Mr the lightning
- 4. The son of daddy

Analysis

When analysing P D Mahlangu's stylistic creations, we outlined the problem of words like *sacka* and *punka*. It was highlighted how they adapted to the accepted syllabic structure of Nguni languages. Though we can say now that these words do have meaning, it is because of the context in which they are used:

Each formulas has around it an aura of meaning which has been put there by all the contexts in which it has occurred in the past. It is the meaning that has been given it by the tradition in its creativeness.

(Lord 1960:148)

According to Irvin's interpretation

Sacka to come nice

means either to groove, or to be happy, or to enjoy. It is an invitation extended to the listeners to come and join in. Another interesting meaning that was deduced from some of the listeners who know about this word is that *sacka* means 'to get down'. If somebody invites you 'to *sacka*', it means to dance and 'get down', that is down to you knees. The same applies to:

Jive punka my baby

Punka sounds as if its referring to a certain type of dance. And 'my baby' might refer to the listener, especially a female listener. Syntactically, the expression has also followed the accepted syntactic order of words in the normal English sentence. The expression has taken the form:

VP + NP (Noun + Poss + Noun)
Verb Phrase (jive) + Noun Phrase (<i>punka</i> + my + <i>baby</i>)
noun poss Noun

which is a commanding form. The sentence in its non-commanding form will

My baby jive *punka*

which will look like:

NP1 (My baby) + VP (jive) + NP2 (*punka*)

Such analysis has also helped us in the analysis of other announcers expressions to see how the radio announcers structures their sentences, in order to achieve the intended meaning. This shows that the radio language sometimes commands or forces somebody to do something, though in a polite way. There is no instance where we have come across an expression with a normal daily conversation word-order in Kekana's expressions. The expression '*sacka to come nice*' is more of a telegraphic phrase than a complete statement. Maybe in a normal conversation it might read:

Sacka in order to come nice
or
Sacka so as to come nice

Such constructions are evidence of the fact that radio manipulates sentences on its own way.

Besides the expression in English, Irvin also does not forget that he broadcasts for the black people. He

informs them that he is 'the son of daddy' (*umtlhankana kabhabha*). This is not the accepted way of speaking in the Ndebele language. What is acceptable presently in the Ndebele language board is:

Umsana kababa
My father's son

Umtlhankana is an old word referring to 'son' but no longer in use. The announcer uses it to remind the listeners about its existence or because it is heavily used in his area or in his dialect that he speaks. Tannen (1984) once commented that one speaker may have a tendency to use words that no longer exist in the standard speech in his conversation, so long as it is still used in his dialect.

He is the son of daddy who comes like:

umbani wezulu
the lightning

In most African cultures, *umbani wezulu* is taken as the most dangerous thing, in the sense that there is a belief that *izulu* comes not through the powers of nature but through the powers of witchcraft (see Berglund 1986).

Irvin calls himself 'the man of witchcraft', 'the man of magic', like *umbani wezulu*. Such words as used by the announcers when introducing themselves have a big impact on society. They know that people do not see them when broadcasting, and they don't know them, but they can only hear them. These are words that lead the listener to formulate his own images in his imaginations about that announcer. What does he look like? Why is he calling himself that? Is he really dangerous? Does he look like that object?

It is easy for such questions to come forward, since mostly in *izibongo* the hero gets associated with different natural objects which are either like him or behave like him

The physical features of the subject of praise influences the bard a great deal. However, not all features are taken into consideration, only those that are outstanding.

(Msimang 1980:220)

Maybe calling himself *umbani wezulu* distinguishes him from other announcers.

In conclusion, Irvin's stylistic creations have two distinguishing features : firstly, they are based on

Mahlangu's compositions and are influenced by literacy, and secondly, they are non-traditional but rather are pure creations of his own in his language. Like his colleague Mahlangu, he has no technologised stylistic creations.

Mahlangu's stylistic creations proved that anything can be said on radio in a form of a word and acquire the meaning from the context it is used, that what is important for radio is not meaningful words, like in writing, but any rhythmical item in a form of a word is important, that composition of stylistic creations is reliant on the participation of both announcer and listener.

On the other hand, Irvin Kekana showed that one can take another man's compositions and manipulate them the way he feels, either making them better or worse. This is a sign of internal influence in the use of stylistic creations.

4.2.3.4. Stylistic Creations in Radio Swazi

Radio Swazi is one of the smaller stations, like Radio Ndebele, whose listenership is not more than 0,184 million (SABC Annual Report 1989). Both Swazi and Ndebele

services broadcast for only 6 hours a day when Radio Zulu takes over their channels or transmitters. Because of its broadcast hours, Radio Swazi has only four announcers. These announcers work as musical announcers as well as news/actuality announcers.

After listening to their programmes, only two announcers were noticed to have air-personalities or stylistic creations in Radio Swazi namely, Shukuma Lukhele (33) and Alfred Sambo (34). Alfred Sambo has very few stylistic creations if compared with Shukuma Lukhele. Even those of Sambo are taken from one of his Radio Zulu colleagues.

Shukuma's Stylistic Creations

Shukuma Lukhele (33) from Nelspruit and presently residing in Mamelodi, is a presenter of only two programmes in Radio Swazi excluding 'live' morning and afternoon sessions, namely, National Top 20 and Sports.

Shukuma has dry, individualistic and technologised stylistic creations. His technologised stylistic creations are words said by himself with music in the background. For example:

1. Shushu baby, keep on calling me

I will be there

Second compositions are said by female voices also with music in the background:

2. *He! He! Nangu shushu baby*
Nang' ushukuma
 There comes shushu baby
 There is shukuma

Then Shukuma's voice also answers in a song form:

3. Keep on calling my name, I'll be there

The rest are centred around his name:

4. *Siyashukuma*

meaning we are 'dancing'. And lastly, he has a meaningless saying that is usually said when taking a commercial spot:

Mbo! Mbo! Mbo!

Shukuma's stylistic creations are both in English and Swazi language. What is interesting in his compositions is the involvement of the listeners, especially females for his jingles. The use of female voices is very popular in the white services (cf. announcers like Alex Jay, Kevin Savage and Tony Blewit of Radio 5 and Steve Bishop and

Dave Guselli of Capital Radio 604). Such use of female vocals in stylistic creations, may have influenced Shukuma. If not, it is his own creation.

Analysis

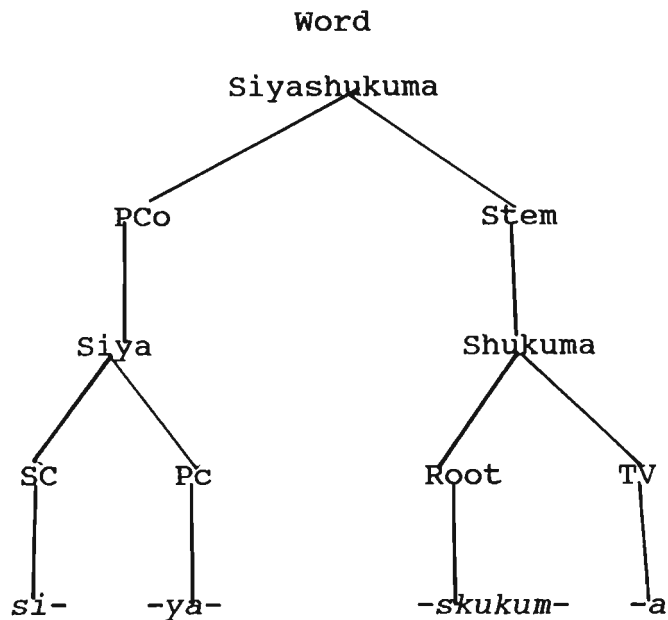
Black languages, especially those of Southern African, are popularly known for their flexibility. The flexibility of South African languages is noticeable especially on inflections, i.e. the taking of prefixes and suffixes by stems and the tonal pattern in those languages. In a Nguni or Sotho group language, one word can form different words by taking and deleting some prefixes or suffixes.

Shukuma's stylistic creations are a good example in this. Firstly, Shukuma's name has been developed further coining new names for him still carrying the element of his name.

In his stylistic creation:

Siyashukuma
We are dancing

'si-' is a subjectival concord meaning 'we' and '-ya-' is a progressive concord, both prefixed to the stem '-shukuma'. Diagrammatically this can be represented thus:



PCo = Prefixal Concord
SC = Subjectival Concord
PC = Progressive Concord
TV = Terminative Vowel

The same applied to the formation of *shushu*. Here no prefixes or suffixes are used. Only the first syllable of his name has been used and repeated to form assonance and rhythm, for example:

ushushu

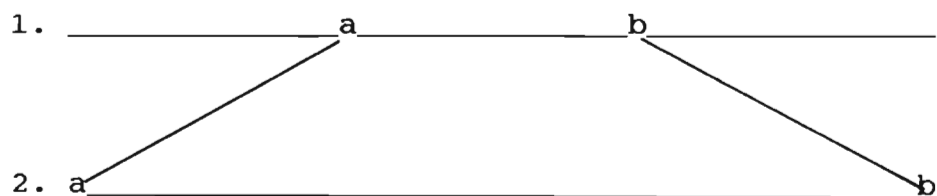
The personal vowel *u-* has been added to form the name and deleted in *shushu* - *shushu* baby, keep on calling my name.

The expressions:

He! He! Nangu ushushu baby
Nangu ushukuma

have both syntactic and rhythmic parallelism. They both have a pattern of syntactic and rhythmic oppositions. *Nangu* is a syntactic parallelism by occupying different syntactic slots, which resulted in antithetic parallelism *uShushu* and *uShukuma*, and by having some rhythmic sounds, *-shu-* makes the whole expression sound rhythmical and also occupy different syntactic slots. The first *uShushu* occupied the internal slot whereas *ushukuma* has occupied the terminative slot.

Diagrammatically, this can be illustrated thus:



'a' represents *nangu* (preceded by *He! He!* in line 1 and preceded by no word in 2 line).

'b' represents *uShushu/uShukuma* in lines 1 and 2.

This reminds us of individual oral singers' reliance on the habit of balancing ideas by using parallelism and of the degree to which habits have tended to stabilize, without fixing or poeticising passages of varying length. The opening 'laughing words' *He! He!* of line 1 preceding *nangu*, makes the whole expression entertaining and fascinating. They might indicate pride or some sarcasm to somebody who has been listening to another station. Now the listener is called upon and reminded sarcastically or ironically that Shukuma is coming. The use of 'laughing' is culturally based. Firstly, in the African culture laughing is done by females in a particular manner, and secondly, it is females who like laughing aloud and in this fashion. Usually, females use such laughing (*He! He! He!*) when they are together, either seeing males coming towards them or when one of them has fallen in love with a man that particular group of females don't like.

Shukuma answers his listeners in the same jingle by encouraging them to 'keep on calling my name, I'll be there'. There is repetition of this phrase, where the first expression is preceded by 'Shukuma Baby' which directs the statement at 'Shushu Baby' who is encouraged

to call the name. The second expression sounds straight forward and directed at nobody in particular. On the other side it can be argued that the same expression is directed at the 'female singers' who are already telling us about Shushu's coming.

What we notice here is the development from the specific to the general. The development of a statement from the specific to the general is highly noticeable in *izibongo*. We usually speak of a statement plus extension, development and conclusion: the statement starts by being specific and gets extended further, until it is developed to the general which culminates to a conclusion. Applying this in Shukuma's stylistic creations, we have

Statement:	Shushu baby, keep on calling my name
Extension:	Keep on calling my name, I'll be there
Development:	Ø
Conclusion:	Ø

The extensions can serve two functions here. It can work either as an extension or as a conclusion, as it is said that if we call his name, he will be there, we are assured of that. Though this does not exactly follow the statement, extension, development and conclusion format, it shows that even 'though all singers use traditional material in a traditional way, we can differentiate

individual styles in the epic technique of oral verse-making' (Lord 1960).

Mbo! Mbo! Mbo! is Shukuma's last stylistic creation which sounds far from these other expressions. He usually says this when taking a commercial break. There is no specific and straight forward meaning that one can provide for this. Except that, when pouring water in a bucket or any container we may describe the sound made by water by using *Mbo! Mbo! Mbo!*. Nguni languages have ideophonic words which easily describe the action of the verb. For example:

Wawa bhakla
He fell down painfully

Wathela amanzi athi Mbo! Mbo! Mbo!
He poured water and made noise *Mbo! Mbo! Mbo!*

Bhakla describes the action of falling and *Mbo! Mbo! Mbo!* describes the way water (*amanzi*) is poured.

Such use of a ideophones does not mean that the announcer is aware of them. For the announcer the words are only meant to paint that image in the mind of the listener. It is this richness in one's language which makes the poet or singer different in his descriptions or narrations as Shukuma is.

Sambo's Stylistic Creations

Alfred Sambo (34) is the presenter of International Top 20, *Kugiya labasha* (youth programme), and *Tikhalela bani* (For Whom is this music?).

Sambo has only two stylistic creations, about which very little can be said. They are dry and individualistic, one in English and one in SeSwati. They are:

1. The Boogie man from Radio Swazi

This is alternatively said with:

- 1b. The man with music that will keep you on your feet.

Then the one in SeSwati:

Ngitsi labo
We are the one

Analysis

Sambo's stylistic creations show a strong influence of literacy as well as influence from his external colleagues.

Firstly, the use of 'boogie man' is an influence from one of the Radio Zulu announcers who calls himself 'the boogie funkier man'. Secondly, expression 1b "the boogie man from Radio Swazi" is also from Kansas expression who is a Radio Zulu announcer. There is a slight change that Sambo has made in Kansas' stylistic creation. Kansas calls himself 'the music man who keeps you on your feet'. Sambo's expression are longer than those of Kansas. Kansas' statement 'the music man ...' is 'the man with music ...' to Sambo. Kansas' statement is metaphorical whereas Sambo's is more narrative. We must not forget that both sentences are compound sentences, for example:

1. (He is) the man with music
2. The man will keep you on your feet.

1 and 2 put together will be:

He is the man with music that will keep you on your feet.

Because the radio language always sounds as a command (as we explained above), 'he is' is deleted and the structure starts with 'The man with music ...' This shows the ability of creating a new formulaic expression from an old formulaic expression.

Singers or bands have a tendency to listen and learn from their senior singers. By doing this they develop or improve all songs sung by their seniors. It likely that Sambo became an active listener to the songs of Kansas and VVO both from Radio Zulu.

Sambo's use of VVO's expression 'the boogie funkier man' can be commented on. Firstly, Sambo must be credited for not emulating exactly the expression as it stands. He is the 'boogie' but not the 'funkier man'.

Secondly, though he is the 'boogie man', he is aware that there is another 'boogie man'. He is conscious about making us aware that he is 'the boogie man from Radio Swazi'.

Though we notice such borrowings from other announcers' compositions, Sambo puts new words into the old pattern which are more descriptive. This shows the working of a person within an oral tradition, where ready-made formulas exist from the other announcers. (Such influences will be clearly dealt with in the next chapter).

Sambo has a special way of introducing a record, which is totally different from calling or introducing a commercial

spot. He has a rhythmic expression which is repeated, namely:

Ngitsi, ngitsi, ngitsi labo
We are, we are, we are the one

The repetition of *ngitsi* forms a rhythmic parallelism. It normally goes with the beat of that particular record played at that time. *Labo* (the one) refers to the Swazi people. Radio Zulu always broadcasts over the transmitters of Radio Swazi from 08h30 until 16h30. Then Radio Swazi broadcasts till 21h00 when Radio Zulu takes over again. This clearly means the Swazi people are more tuned to Radio Zulu. When Radio Swazi takes over during his hours, this *ngitsi labo* is used.

Sambo is trying to draw the attention of the Swazi listeners, that it is Radio Swazi with the Swazis (*labo*) who are now on air. The whole meaning of this expression is easily understandable when said by the speaker of the language. Otherwise, the expression would be very difficult to understand.

Radio always forces us to exercise our imaginations and ingenuity in understanding the meaning and individualism of these stylistic creations. The understanding of some

of them depends on the story involved in their compositions, on the scale of ornamentation that we must concentrate on and on the close-knit unity.

A discussion will follow on Radio Metro, which broadcasts in English, using black DJs, and is also categorised as a black radio service serving blacks.

4.2.4. RADIO METRO

4.2.4.1. Stylistic Creations in Radio Metro

Originally, Radio Metro was established in order to compete with independent radio stations in the independent countries, namely, Radios Bophuthatswana and Thohoyandou. Like these stations Radio Metro used English as the medium of broadcasting and employed black announcers.

Announcers who were employed in this station were recruited from stations like Capital Radio, Radio 702, Radio Bop and from the surrounding night clubs. No announcers from the SABC's black services were employed. When asking the station's manager, Koos Hadebe, the reason for not taking announcers already in the black services,

he stated that he wanted to avoid the emulation of the SABC's black stations by Radio Metro announcers

Radio Metro has ten announcers all freelancing. When listening to these announcers, it is quite difficult to say whether they have any stylistic creations. There are two reasons for this: firstly, they all use the same station jingles, especially when advertising the station, and, secondly, they use baritone voices to advertise them individually. Otherwise no strict and special expressions can be associated with a specific announcer.

There is only one occasion where we noticed something that we thought resembles what we regarded as stylistic creations in the nine black services. That was noticed with an announcer Evidence Kemp who is presently no longer with the station.

Kemp's Stylistic Creations

Evidence Kemp (29) was specially employed to present the 'Party Time' programme, which plays strictly 'funky' type of music. He was a former night club DJ. His programme was every Saturday between 21h00 and 01h00. He had only two expressions which seem to resemble what we considered

to be stylistic creations in black services. The expressions are:

1. Nothing else but the Kemp, 2. Kemp, the one

These expressions were either sung in a baritone voice or said by Evidence himself. Most of the time they were said by Evidence himself. Their creation around his name, i.e. Kemp, led us to believe that they are clearly stylistic creations or way of personalising himself on air.

Analysis

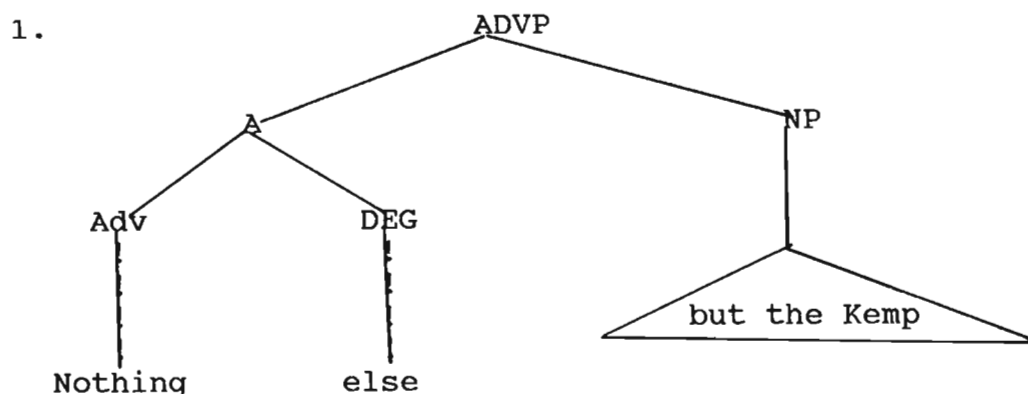
Like the announcers of both the Nguni and Sotho group stations, Evidence's stylistic creations are dry and individualistic. They are formed or created around his surname and not the forename as the other announcers did.

When we analysed at the stylistic creations of those announcers who use English, for example Kansas (Radio Zulu) and others, we realised a strong deviation from the normal syntactic pattern of English sentences. The Chomskian transformation model was of great help when illustrating this.

The same seems to be possible here. Kemp's compositions do not sound like full and complete sentences. Without

committing our study in the grammatical analysis of sentences, we can mention that the first expression is an adverbial phrase.

Let us suppose that the structure of the adverbial phrase like 'nothing else but the Kemp' is essentially:



ADV = Adverb

DEG = Degree adverb

Np = Noun phrase

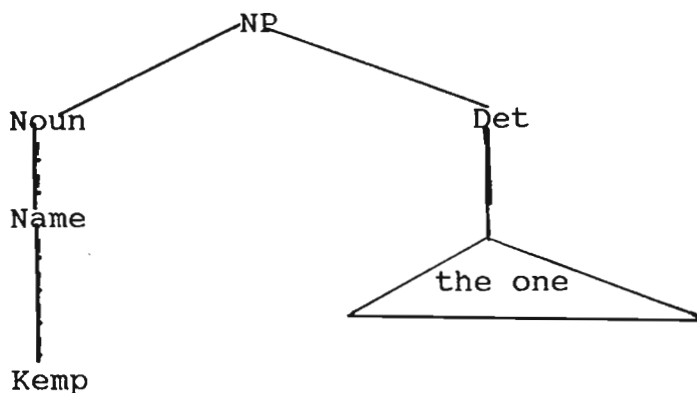
Compared to expression 2 ('Kemp the one') sounds meaningless and incomplete. It is not even a deviation from a normal daily language. Sentence 1 may be completed by adding a sentence that will have to precede this adverbial phrase, for example,

You are listening to nothing else but the Kemp

'You are listening to ...' consists of a noun phrase ('you are') and verb phrase with the infinitive ('listening to'). The whole sentence can end up with the structure: S = NP + VP (infinitive) + ADVP. Doing such addition in expression 2 can also be possible. In our transformational language, expression 2 is a noun phrase.

A diagram can illustrate this clearly.

2.



Det = Determiner

The word order of this expression can be reversed if given form of normal speech, for example

The one Kemp ...

Usually the determiner precedes the name/noun in a normal conversation. Then we can extend the expression to:

The one Kemp is broadcasting

or

Kemp, the one, is broadcasting

Such expressions should not to be analysed on the same grounds as one would use for everyday speech and how the complete standard sentence should be; instead they must be

treated in their own special way. Radio language seems to be brief, incomplete and meaningless if taken out of its environment or context.

Kemp's stylistic creations do not have any traditional elements. Maybe this is because of the language he is using. It is true that there is less flexibility in a style of speaking if using foreign language as compared to one's mother tongue. That might be a strong reason why all other Radio Metro DJs have no stylistic creations.

Maybe stylised deliveries are only possible when using the language which is deep in one's veins and when one knows all its artistic words, phrases and even its deep tradition. Presenting or broadcasting in another language might create artificial delivery. In one's mother tongue, it is easy to cultivate a style that works.

Radio Metro has a great influence or impact on black announcers of both Nguni and Sotho group, especially when it comes to presentation.

4.2.5. STYLISTIC CREATIONS IN NGUNI SERMONS

We began by looking at what we thought were the purely created stylized deliveries from musical programmes. We did not study to what extent these announcers were spontaneous or contrived. We realised that announcers do not start by writing down or reading the words they broadcast. In the analysis of Sotho Radio sermons, we only realised that in the delivery of sermons where the preacher's creations are based on a scripture reading, the Preacher's formulaic style interweaves with the biblical text.

Crisell (1986) does mention that 'the broadcasters do have an opportunity to influence the radio 'text' or message by making an actual contribution to it'.

Like the announcers, it is not all preachers that have formulaic language in their preaching. Some are straight forward preachers and the style of others is exceptionally formulaic. That is what Rosenberg (1969) discovered when he analysed Rev Shegog's sermon as an example of oral composition within a literary context.

In our study of the Nguni group sermons, Radio Zulu and Radio Xhosa sermons were monitored and recorded.

Thereafter they were analysed and the following was discovered: in Radio Zulu, only two out of eight monitored sermons showed density of formulas. The first was by Rev Mbatha , presently the station manager of Radio Zulu, and the second was by Rev Khambule. Rev Mbatha's sermon had more formulaic language, stylistic features such as phrase parallelism, incremental words and repetition. Rev Khambule's sermon had very few formulas and his sermon was disturbed by the congregation as it was recorded at the Groutville congregational church. Also, his creation was semi-dependent on the Bible as he continuously read from or referred to phrases in the Bible. Rev Mbatha's sermon was pure creation, spontaneously done without continuously repeating what is written in the Bible.

In radio Xhosa, only one sermon by Rev Nombela was at least the one considered to be the best of them all.

Radio Swazi and Ndebele were discovered to have no sermons: they do not close their stations with a devotion. This means their closing sermon is that which is heard on Radio Zulu. If they open in the morning there is also no sermon, only a scripture reading, which is not followed by any preaching as it happens on Radio Zulu. No sermons for Radio Swazi or Radio Ndebele were recorded.

Two sermons will be briefly examined, namely that of Rev Mbatha broadcast on 31 December 1990, and that of Rev Nombela broadcast on 2 August 1991.

Rev Mbatha's sermon has all the mnemonic devices one can think about in an orally composed work.

In the expressions for example

1. *Silisebenzise kahle*
2. *Silisebenzise ngendlela*

1. We make use of it correctly
2. We make use of it in a correct way

the repetition of the expression *Silisebenzise* as such might be meaningless but because of *kahle* (correctly) and *ngendlela* (in a correct way) the meaning is more elaborate. The same applies to the lines:

1. *Uyinkosi ebheka konke*
2. *Uyinkosi ebheka kade*
3. *Uyinkosi ebekezelayo*

1. You are the king that looks after everything
2. You are the king that looked for a long time
3. You are the king that has patience

Konke and *kade* are forming what we can call meaning parallelism. The two words have the same meaning although the degree of intensity may vary.

Different types of parallelisms are achieved by using contrasted verb forms of various kinds: Cross parallelism, parallelism by internal linking and internal linking.

1. Cross parallelisms:

Enza nabafowethu nadadewethu
Abasezonweni ezahlukeneyo
Zehlukene kakhula
Zinjengokwehlukana kwabo

Make our brothers and sisters
 who are in different sins.
 Sins which are different
 like their differences

Firstly, *ezahlukeneyo* is relative in the indicative form, whereas *zehlukene* is a subjunctive mood and *zinjengokwehlukana* is a plain indicative form. These forms are all from one verb '*hlukana*', which managed to assume these different forms because of different markers.

Other such examples in the same sermons are:

2. Parallelism by initial linking:

Sasihamba Sithwel' imphongolo
Sasihamba sihamba naye
Sasihamba siwa naye

We were going carrying
 We were going, going with him
 We were going, falling with him

Other words are repeated, not for the sake of forming or creating parallelism, but to develop the story pattern in a rhythmic form. These lines are a good example of this.

1. *Sithi yenza ngomsa wakho*
2. *Nangesihawu sakho esikhulu*
3. *Ukuba abasishumayelayo*
4. *Bahlanzisiswe*
5. *Ukuba abalishumayelayo*
6. *Bagezisiswe*

1. We say do it at your mercy
2. With your great mercy
3. To let those who are preaching it
4. Be cleansed
5. To let those who are preaching it
6. Be more cleaned

Rev Mbatha in these phrases is playing around with what we already called parallelism of meaning (Mkhize 1989) which is a special technique of linking having varying degrees of intensity. The story pattern gets developed by the repetition of lines 4 and 6, namely *bahlanzisiswe* and *bagezisiswe*. Both these words mean the same but they vary in their intensity.

Bahlanzisiswe mean to be purified spiritually whereas *bagezisiswe* means to be purified physically. Preachers must continue preaching God's gospel so that both purifications will take place.

3. Internal parallelism:

Sigeda unyaka
Singen' onyakeni onusha

We are finishing the year
 Enter into the new year

Interesting here is internal parallelism, where *onyakeni*, the adverb of time, is formed from *unyaka*, which is in parallel with the noun, *unyaka*.

The use of grammatical markers to form a patterned language and the morphological change of words is heavily used in Rev Mbatha's sermon. He has a style of playing around with one word, and make the word acquires different meanings. An example is word *-wela* ('cross');

Kodwa into esiyitholayo lapha mlaleli
Sizwa ukuthi kwakuwela isizwe
Siwela sisuka eziweni elidala
Siwelele ezweni elisha lesethembiso.
Labantu bawela bonke
Lababantu bawela behlangene
Lababantu bawela namasu ...
Kodwa bawela behlangene.

But what we get here listener
 We get it was the nation that crossed
 Crossing, moving from its old country
 Crossing to the new country of promise.
 All these people crossing
 All these people crossing together

All these people crossing with plans ...
But crossing together.

The repetition of *-wela* with its different markers develops the story pattern and form the intended theme. *Kwakuwela* has *kwa* which is from the indefinite concord *ku-* (indicating no specific subject reference) and it indicates the remote past. *Siwela* is in the indicative mood with subjectival concord *si-* referring to *isizwe* ('nation') and *siwelele* is an indicative relative with *-ile* (i.e. *si + wela + ile* (*siwelele*), the combination of vowels 'a' and 'i' result in '-e' in Zulu) which is the perfect tense marker, indicating the recent past.

The other *bawela* in the following lines are all in the indicative moods. What we notice in Rev Mbatha's creation is the use of one word which gets repeated and absorbs different subjects. He develops his story pattern by referring his formulas to different actions or activities. A good example is in the lines:

Babusisiwe abantu
Sibusisiwe isizwe
Libusisiwe iqembu
Ubusisiwe umholi

Blessed are the people
Blessed in the nation
Blessed is the party
Blessed is the leader

The change of different subjectival concords in the verb - *busisa* ('bless') makes the verb adaptable to take different subjects. *Abantu* ('people'), *isizwe* ('nation'), *iqembu* ('party') and *umholi* ('leader') are all subjects. Subjectival concords *ba-*, *si-*, *li-* and *u-* modified the formula *Busisa*.

Lastly, the formulaic diction or incremental repetitions in his creations are made to emphasize. His composition becomes thematic. Exhorting us to praise God, he says we must be able to praise God under all different circumstances.

Simkhonza ngenhliziyo emhlophe
Simkhonza sihlupheka
Simkhonza sifa
Simkhonza sigula
Simkhonza silamba
Simkhonza singenamsebenzi
Simkhonz' uNkulunkulu wethu ...

We pray with white heart
 We pray even when we are suffering
 We pray even when we are dying
 We pray even when we are sick
 We pray even when we are hungry
 We pray even when we are jobless
 We pray, our God ...

The use of verbs, either in parallelism or in the development of the story pattern, by using different

markers seems to rule Rev Mbatha's sermon. We cannot discuss all the formula modifications here. More formulas are underlined in the sermon itself appearing in the appendices.

Rev Mbatha's formulaic language is achieved, by using contrasted verb forms of various kinds and in different ways, namely:

1. Relative (e.g. *Izono ezahlukuneyo*, 'different sins') and non-relative (e.g. *Zehlukene kakhulu*, 'sins which are different').
2. Passive (e.g. *Behlushwa bebulawa*, 'punished and killed') and active (e.g. *eGibhithu behlupheka*, 'suffering in Egypt').

There are also mood and tense contrasts that we have seen, for example:

1. Moods: Indicative (e.g. *ukuphela konyaka*, 'the end of the year') and subjunctive (e.g. *kuphele khona*, 'it ends there').
2. Tenses: Past (e.g. *wabamela isiswe sonke*, 'you represented the whole nation') and present (e.g. *simelwe ngothile*, 'represented by somebody').

Some formulas are achieved through the re-arrangement of morphemes for example:

Isho ukubaluleka
Kokuncipha kokubalulekisa

It means the importance
 Of the diminishing of making important

Ukubaluleka and *Kokubaluleka* are two forms from one verb *-luleka*. *Luleka* assumed different forms because of different markers.

We also saw different types of parallelisms or linking achieved through the artistic manipulations of various contrasting grammatical forms, particularly verbs and nouns in his sermons.

Rev Nombela's sermon has some stylistic formulas but they are not much like those of Rev Mbatha. The density of formulas in the two sermons is not the same. Firstly, in some cases it does resemble some of the formulas that we come across in Rev Mbatha's devotion. There is the repetition of phrases forming some linking in the story pattern:

Nibuyele ibe ngulowo nalowo kwilifa lakho
Nibuyele ibe ngumowo nalowo kwabonzi wakhe

And go back one by one to his inheritance
 And go back one by one to his family

Other repetitions result in what we call antithetic parallelism (Mkhize 1989).

Wabafuna bengathandwa ntu

Wabathanda

He wanted them loved by nobody
And He loved them

Such contrast *bengathandwa* and *Wabathanda* is very popular in the composition of *izibongo*. It normally features in the form of two words with contrasting ideas or with contrasting morphological structure as in the example above. The above example is in the negative - positive oblique linking *bengathandwa* (negative form) and *wabathanda* (positive form). '*nga-*', in *bengathandwa*, is a negative concord.

The sermon reveals very interesting contrasts or antithesis which shows that the preaching or creation during preaching is not divorced from the Bible.

Though we do come across such constructions in the Bible, these are more rhythmically and poetically done. Koch (1969) referred to them as antithetic biblical parallelisms, whereas, when Cope (1968) saw them in *izibongo*, he called them negative-positive parallelism: for example,

Zinomlomo kodwa azithethi
Zinomlomo kodwa aziboni
Zinomlomo kodwa aziva

Zinomlomo kodwa azimuke ngozo
Zinomlomo kodwa aziphathi
Zinomlomo kodwa azihambi
Azithethi nangomqala wazo

They have mouths but do not talk
 They have eyes but cannot see
 They have lips but cannot taste
 They have noses but smell nothing
 They have hands but handle nothing
 They have feet but cannot go
 They don't even speak with their necks

These repetitions resemble those found in the Bible where Jeremiah, the prophet, was accusing the children of Israel of worshipping the idols. We also come across such repetitions in Ezekiel 12.2 in the bible. Rev Nombela has put all Jeremiah's and Ezekiel's preaching together to form his own creation.

Rev Nombela's creations are basically dependent on the Bible. He mixes biblical formulae that with his own creations. In the lines:

Nabobonke abathembela kuzo
Israel thembela kusimakade
Yena ongumncedi nekhakha kubo

With all these who have trust in them
 Israel put your trust in God
 Who is the helper and servant of them

Line 1, *abathembela* is Rev Nombela's creation whereas in line 2, *thembela* (which sounds commanding) is directly

extracted from the Bible. Line 2 was said by the prophet Jeremiah forcing the Israelites not to worship the idols.

Watters confirms such selection of some formulas from the Bible by saying that preacher:

... are creative only insofar as they selectively pick and choose formulas to fit their poetic subjects.
(Watters 1976:61)

The parallelistic lines we observed in these sermons actually appear throughout the Bible. In their sermons, they come as individual creation in the process of preaching. Kugel also contends that these parallelistic lines appear in the Bible

not only in 'poetic' parts but in the midst of narratives (especially in direct discourse), in detailed legal material concerning the sanctuary and the rules of sacrifices, in genealogies, and so forth.
(Kugel 1981:3)

It is clear that looking at sermons needs its own independent study since it proves to be an extensive genre. Rosenberg (1969, 1970, 1971) has extensively researched in this field. Though our study is strictly committed to stylistic creations, it was decided to analyse the sermons to see how creation can be dependent on the written scripture. Rosenberg (1970) stressed that

a preacher's verbalization must be seen to be a process or creation rather than a rote memorization, in other words, the result of phrase generation from a grammar of formulaic systems rather than verbatim recall.

Rosenberg's analysis led him to re-define the term formulaic system. He wrote

(a) formulaic system is a group of words, which are metrically and semantically consistent, related in form by the repetition and identical relative placement of at least half the words in the group.
(Rosenberg 1970:115)

Rev Mbatha's sermon has shown what is said in the above statement, by employing all possible grammatical modifications of words or phrases to achieve 'a formulaic system'.

The presence of formulaic diction, parallelism, incremental repetitions, patterned language, rhythm and narrative structure proves sermons to be part of stylistic creations.

4.2.6. CONCLUSION

The analysis of the black announcers stylistic creations in this chapter revealed four facts:

1. Most stylistic creations are created in musical programmes.
2. There are no stylistic creations in educational programmes whatsoever.
3. In informal programmes, stylistic creations are only really noticeable in religious programmes, i.e. sermons and devotions.
4. Very few get scattered in the introduction of other programmes, e.g. news, sports and documentaries.

Let us turn our attention to the overall artistic, aesthetic and ornamentated elements that we noticed mostly in both the Nguni and Sotho services stylistic creations. Are they artistic styles or are they artificial styles? Are they really deviations from the daily discourse? In what tradition are the black announcers broadcasting?

4.3 ARTISTIC OVERVIEW ON BLACK STYLISTIC CREATIONS

4.3.1. INTRODUCTORY PERSPECTIVE

We are working in a continuum of man's artistic expression in words. We are attempting to measure with some degree of accuracy the strength and mixture of oral traditional patterns with the new literate patterns of expression.

In the analysis of different announcers' stylistic creations, different artistic deviations from the normal discourse were discovered and the use of particular or peculiar grammatical forms within a language were noted. What was further highlighted was the individuality in the whole creation of styles in broadcasting.

In dealing with stylistic creations, different dimensions of language have been examined. We have, in certain instances, discussed morphology and syntax in our analysis. We reflected on the problem of meaning and syntax in some cases. So, there was a more syntactic inclination in the whole investigation. In order to understand syntax, it is essential that meaning be included.

What came out clearly in our analysis was the formulaic aspect of a word, a phrase or a sentence that is more important in the whole creation.

Linguists argue about this problem of a sentence or a word as a starting point (Guthrie 1970; Robins 1964; Westphal 1970). For example. Hlongwane said:

Users of language become accustomed to the distributional patterns of the constituents in the sentence. The natural grouping of words in the sentence by the speaker and his/her recognition of the mutual syntactic expectancies that hold between words, establish syntactic regularities.

(Hlongwane 1983:305)

We have noted that the way words are used in these announcers artistic expressions create two things. Firstly, certain special form, and, secondly, special imageries, like in *izibongo*.

Imagery is the peculiarly aesthetic and concentrative form of any oral composition. Proverbs, sayings, folktales, myths and *izibongo* are all carriers of imagery. Therefore, it is the hallmark of folklore.

Some announcers showed an effective use of imagery that is responsible for the success and endurance of their

stylistic creations. These stylistic creations have special appropriate content of all literary devices. They have shapes which form special structural patterns or formal features as we find in *izibongo*. That is why these expressions were consistently associated with *izibongo*. We shall deal here mainly with these two aspects, namely imagery and form, in order to see whether the announcers styles are artificial/stylized delivery. Because

It is difficult to draw a line between a stylized delivery and an artificial delivery, and even more difficult to try to cultivate a style that works. Trying too hard can result in an affected, phony delivery.

(O'Donnell et al 1987:58)

Special imageries and form in one's stylistic creations is a way of 'involving the listeners directly in the show: 'get them guessing, calling in, as well as actively attentive and emotionally responsive to your show' (Dudek 1982).

4.3.1.1. Imagery

In this section, we shall discuss only those figures of speech which seemed to be more common in the black announcers' stylistic creations. Heese and Lawton (1975)

consider simile, metaphor, personification and symbolism under imagery:

... we employ the word 'image' as a general term and the words 'simile', 'personification', 'metaphor', and 'symbol' as specific terms indicative of different kinds of images.

(Heese and Lawton 1975:62)

Writing on imagery, Fogle says:

Poetic imagery is to be defined broadly as analogy or comparison, having a special force and identity from the peculiarly aesthetic and concentrative form of poetry. It is to be judged according to its creative power, the connotative richness of its content, and the harmonious unity and fusion of its elements.

(Fogle 1962:22)

There is another type of imagery as it features in some stylistic creations, namely hyperbole.

We shall not deal with these types of imageries in detail, but we will comment about them especially where they occur because the stylistic creations from which they are taken have been treated in some detail in this chapter.

Simile

Simile is defined by Shipely as

It is ... the comparison of two things of different categories ... which, because of a point of

resemblance and because of the association emphasized,
clarifies or in some way enhances the original ...
(Shipley 1970:304)

On the same line Ntuli says:

It is chiefly through comparison that poets try to
make meaningful communication of difficult concepts to
their audience. The poet usually compares two things
which share a common feature. In a simile, this
comparison is explicitly announced by the word 'as' or
'like' ...

(Ntuli 1984:151)

Black languages, that is Nguni and Sotho have different
formatives that are used in the formation of similes.
Nguni languages, e.g. Xhosa and Zulu, use the prefix
'njenga-' or 'nganga-', whereas Sotho languages use '-
jwaloka-' or 'kaka'.

Although we do not expect every announcer to demonstrate
his ability of using similes in his stylistic creations,
there are those who either consciously or unconsciously
use them.

Wentzel has a good example of simile in his *izihasho*:

UMedlula Kabili Kathathu
Okwendada iya ensamo
The passerby twice or thrice
Like a man approaching the back part of the hut

In this simile, the announcer composes the way of walking of this man and not the process of walking. He is not comparing the man as such, but the way or forcefulness of his walking.

In Rev Mbatha's sermons we find the comparison:

Abasezimweni ezahlukeneyo
Zehlukene kakhulu
Zinjingekwehlukana kwabo
 Who are in different conditions
 Very different
 Like the differences among them

Which is a good simile dependent on the context of the sermon.

The simile is the most commonly used form of imagery in Zulu *izibongo*. But some critics (Pierce and Pierce 1973) view simile and metaphor as one and the same thing. They point out the disadvantage of using simile: 'because of its structure, a simile is likely to sound more arranged and formal, less startling than metaphor' (1973:34).

The metaphor is usually taken as being more effective than a simile, since it makes an instant comparison:

Akululaka ibhubesi
 He is a lion

Wherease Msimang (1981:59) concludes that

... the bard draws his similes from a wide range of objects including celestial bodies and other natural phenomena, plants and animals: domestic as well as wild ones.

Metaphor

Untermeyer (as stated above) places metaphor above simile when he says:

A metaphor is usually more effective than a simile because it makes an instant comparison and an imaginative fusion of two objects without the use of explanatory prepositions.

(Untermeyer 1968:225)

Untermeyer's argument is easily acceptable as far as language usage in radio is concerned. An announcer always wants to be 'effective'; he wants everything he says to be easily imagined and he wants to facilitate the creation of the picture of what he is saying in the mind of the listener by 'an instant comparison'.

Shipley defines a metaphor as:

The substitution of one thing for another or the identification of two things from different ranges of thought.

(Shipley 1970:197)

John Nkomo of Radio Tsonga to be the god of water:

*Hi mina Dzudzamadzedze
Xikwembu xa le matini*

I am the *Dzudzamadzedze*
The god of water living in water

Manabela's stylistic of Radio Venda these lines says:

*Ndi V M
Ndi Vasco Manabela
Ndi Mutendeleki
Ndi Mujigelezo
Ndi goloi ya muvbuso
I am V M I am Vasco Manabela
I am the wanderer
I am the all rounder
I am the governmental car*

The noun *mutendeleki* is from the stem *-tendeleka*, and *mujigelezo* is from the stem *-jigeleza*. These verb stems give us an image of a person who does not rest. He has travelled to such an extent that he is now the *goloi ya muvhuso* which suggests speed and ease in what he is doing. These verbs assisted in the animation of the inanimate - *goloi* (car).

There are other metaphors which are both nominal and verbal in base. The base of the metaphor is from the noun stem and the verb stem. Thokozani Nene of Radio Zulu calls himself:

UGxaba lembadada uManyathela
The old Zulu sandal fine dancer

The announcer here wants to tell us that he is like an old traditional sandal (*Ugxaba lembadada*) and he is an experienced sandal which has travelled a lot (*umanyathela*). The two metaphors (*Ugxaba*) and (*umanyathela*) are fused together.

The first metaphor has a nominal base, from the stem -*gxaba* and the second metaphor is verbal base from the stem -*nyathela*. The picture presented in this expression is complete and has a measure of independence. This image can be regarded as a symbol which is open to many interpretations.

Msimang (1981) and Kunene (1970) talk of metaphors developed from animals. Bhodloza of Radio Zulu in his praises calls himself *UMaqhude ayeqana* in:

Zibambe phela Maqhude ayeqana
Hold up those roosters that compete for supremacy

and also he is *Ngulubana* (piglet) in the line:

Wayithatha Ngulubana
You took it Mr Piglet

Though Bhodloza is adding some concreteness in the whole action of 'doing it' (*Zibambe*) and that of taking (*Wayithatha*), one gets puzzled by the use of *Ngulubana*. A pig (*ingulube*) is an animal that likes dirty and filthy places. He is not the old pig but the piglet (*Ingulubana*). Bhodloza is trying to paint the picture in our minds of many roads that he has travelled and various experiences, both good and bad, he has gone through during his lifetime.

The word *Maqhude* from *Iqhude* (cock) describes the brilliancy involved in doing things. In Zulu there is an idiomatic expression that is used if one is describing a clever cunning person. Zulus normally describe the person as

Umaqhude ayeqana
Roosters that compete for supremacy

Since this metaphor is already part of everyday language, it can be regarded as a dead metaphor.

It is the variety and combinations of these metaphors that add life to the announcers' stylistic creations.

Personification

Heese and Lawton define personification as:

... that kind of image where the 'something concrete' relates to human beings, while the 'something else' is not human.

(Heese and Lawton 1978:63)

This definition implies that personification not only animates the inanimate but also endows human attributes to other animate but non-human objects, like animals.

Kreuzer (in Ntuli 1984:170) says about personification:

Personification is a special form of comparison. It is defined as representation of an inanimate object or abstract idea as endowed with personal attributes.

There are various kinds of personification including apostrophe, human actions, human features and human emotions (Ntulu 1984).

Black announcers have a number of personifications in their stylistic creations.

There are personifications which are mingled with *isithakazelo* (totem name).

Sethosa's (of Radio Lebowa) totemic name is *Maputla-A-Thamaga* where the whole *isithakazelo* is coined from the

name of trees or plants. Sethosa is not associating himself with these trees or plants but he is *Maputla-A-Thamaga* - the generation of these plant/trees family.

Baos Sono of Radio Venda personifies the 'cow skin' by associating it with himself. Although this is semantically linked to a metaphor, he has adopted 'dryskin' as a name. The old cow skin is here personified to be himself - hence his present full name: Dryskin Baos Sono .

What can be mentioned in the usage of personifications in the creation of stylistic creation is that not only do totemic names get shifted from metaphors to personifications, but so, too, do genealogical names. Unlike in *izibongo* where genealogical names cause us to 'establish the sanctioned authority and power of the culture hero' (Johnson 1986), announcers personify or seem to inherit them and adopt them as their names.

Ligudu of Radio Venda is not only a grandchild of *Vhakwevho* (*Muduhulu wa Vhawhevho*) but he is *Vhakwevho*. Nefalo, also of Radio Venda, is *Tshirundu-vhuya*, *Madzhoromela Tshikhopha*

By calling himself the small animal (*Tshirundu-vhuya*), Nefalo thinks or feels that, out of all animals, this one has supernatural powers which he himself does not have.

Nkomo, of Radio Tsonga, extends the whole personification from human to super-human being-god, *Xikwembu* - the Venda god of water - *xa le matini*. He puts himself into the same class of mythical creatures by bringing it closer to himself.

Compared with other types of images, personification is very infrequently used in announcers' stylistic creations.

Symbolism

The fact that when we discussed metaphors and personification and we now and again referred to symbolism, indirectly proves that the majority of symbols start as metaphors and through persistent recurrence they become symbolic (Mkhize 1989). Personification was referred to by some critics (Ntuli 1984) as a special type of metaphor. Our analysis on the discussion of personification showed that personification may end up being a symbol.

Spangenberg (1980), in his definition of a symbolic poem, clearly states that:

Onder 'n simboliese gedig word tradisioneel verstaan 'n gedig waarin die sentrale gegewe uitwys na iets anders, beeld (simbool) word van iets anders (van 'n dieper betekenisvlak), maar dan op so 'n wyse dat heirdie dieper betekenisvlak nêrens eksplisiet genoem word nie, hoogstens gesugereer.

(Spangenberg 1980:25)

Translation

In a symbolic poem, we traditionally understand a poem where the given object refers to something else (in the deeper semantic level), even though that deeper semantic level does not call anything explicitly, but only makes suggestions.

Therefore:

So verskil die simboliese gedig dus van die gedig as uitgebreide metafoor waarin die dieper vlak eksplisiet aangedui word deur metaforisering

(Spangenberg 1980:25)

Translation

So differs the symbolic poem from a poem with an extended metaphor where the deep level can be explicitly shown by a metaphor.

Spangenberg's argument here is that the base of a symbol is a metaphor and that once the metaphor has been extended (*uitgebreide metafoor*), it becomes a symbol.

Nowottny distinguishes between metaphor and symbolism as follows:

With metaphor, the poet talks about object X as though it were Y; he uses Y-terminology to refer to X. With symbolism, he presents an object, X, and without his necessarily mentioning a further object, his way of presenting X makes us think that it is not only X, but also is or sounds like something more - some Y or other, or a member of Ys; X acts as a symbol for Y, or for Ys.

(Nowottny in Ntuli 1984)

'The poet need not say that X stands for Y' (Ntuli 1984), and that in a poem there is both a literal and a deep level, which is symbolic.

Heese and Lawton (1978) differentiate symbolism into local and traditional symbols. Local symbols are those which are peculiar to a particular society and they normally lack a universal character. Traditional symbols are those which can be described as symbols which are long established by process of 'general comment'.

Mkhize (1989) gives 'sun' as an example of a traditional symbol. 'Sun' is widely used as the symbol of deity. According to Slavonic myths and legends, the 'sun' lived in the East and symbolise god. Among the Serbs, the sun

was a young handsome king. In Zulu *izibongo*,
Senzengakhona is likened to the sun:

Ilanga Iiphume Iinsizwa
Lithe liphezulu lonsansa
The sun that came forth shining dimly
And when it was high, it spread out its rays

A good example of a local symbol is that of an owl
(*isikhova*), where, in Zulu culture, *isikhova* represents
that which causes misfortune, the imminent death
predictor, whereas, in the Greek culture, *isikhova* was a
symbol of wisdom.

Mahlangu's meaningless stylistic creations in Radio
Ndebele, namely:

Sikhulum' ispotoriko
Sjive spotoriko
Spotoriko
We speak spotoriko
We jive spotoriko
Spotoriko

was interpreted by certain announcers (within the same
service) as symbolizing something. They did not agree
with the interpretation that these expressions had no
meaning. They argued that it might symbolise something
that is either abstract or concrete due to his ancestral
beliefs. This 'spotoriko' might symbolise something not

easily understandable by the human mind. Such interpretations are likely to be influenced by our individual inclinations.

The next expression that may be taken as a symbol is that of Peter Bhacela of Radio Xhosa. Firstly, he says:

Mnik' umtwan' into yakhe
Give the child his thing

Then he says,

Mnik' untwan' ibhayi lakhe
Give the child his/her carrying skin

This *ibhayi* symbolises something.

Bacela starts by mentioning this 'object'. He starts by saying: '*Thath' into yakho*' (Take your own thing) and further '*Nik' umtwan' into yakhe*'. Bacela does not want to mention this 'thing' by its name. And later he mentions it: '*-ibhayi*'.

Ibhayi is a traditional symbol, in that, in both Xhosa and Zulu culture, it symbolises the tight family. It is only used when carrying a newly born baby on one's back. Bacela might use it to symbolise the closeness or

friendship that exists among the Xhosa listeners. Maybe in these times of 'confusion', *ibhayi* is used as an image to symbolise prosperity or the coming together of the Xhosas for the sake of their young generation.

Xhosa people have lost much, materially and spiritually, but now is the time where those lost things must be brought back, hence:

Mnik' untwan' ibhaye lakhe
Give the child his/her carrying skin

give all that belongs to a Xhosa child.

Another good example of symbolism is found in the *izibongo* of Thokozane Nene of Radio Zulu. In his *izibongo*, he says

Umkomo inezoso kwelakubo KwaZulu
The beast that provides meat in his home place
Zululand

As against:

Ngob' uxam' unezoso kwalakub' eNdiya
Because the iguana provides meat at his home place
India

Cows or livestock in Zulu *izibongo* commonly symbolise prosperity or an atmosphere of well-being. Among the Zulus, livestock is a status symbol, since they are the

people who depend on pastoral farming. Even the integrity of a man, in the olden days, was assessed according to the *izinkomo* (cattle) he owned. In this expression, it might happen that Thokozane Nene is implying that, in KwaZulu, people are satisfied and happy since they have enough to eat (*izoso*).

There are also other objects whose full significance depends on the understanding of their symbolic nature in Zulu tradition. Wentzel Mnisi of Radio Zulu is:

Sjula Somkhonto
Short shafted assegai

The *umkhonto*, in the Zulu tradition, is always carried when going to the battlefield. The *isjula* (a special type of *umkhonto*) was carried by the warriors of Shaka.

The short assegai ended up being the symbol of bravery. We may conclude that, since Wentzel inherited these *izibongo* from his great-grandfather, who was in Shaka's regiment which fought in Swaziland, it symbolizes bravery to him. Sjula maintains that he is not the *umkhonto*, but the *isjula somkhonto*.

Nevertheless, not all announcers use symbolism in their stylistic creations. Some announcers use some images which depend by implication on some other meaning. Some of their creations fall between metaphors and personifications or strictly under metaphor.

Some of the images imply various concrete or abstract correspondences.

Other announcers use images which we can define as 'extravagant exaggeration of fact, used either for serious or comic effort' (Abrams 1981) which is an image that has been overlooked by many critics in oral compositions - the hyperbole.

Hyperbole

The use of hyperbole in *izibongo* has been very common. Bards exaggerated facts so as to paint a flattering picture about the praised hero. To mention a few examples, Senzangakhona is referred to as

Uthe wakulala wangangemifula
Uthe wakuvuka wangangizintaba
 He who, when he lay down, was the size of the rivers
 He who, when he got up, was the size of mountains
 (Nyembezi 1981:13)

King Zwelithini is poetically said to have written with a sjambok, which literally is impossible:

*Inkosi ebhale ngemvubu
Amanye ebhala ngamapensela
The king that wrote with a sjambok
When others wrote with pens.*

The same image (hyperbole) is noticeable in some of the black announcers' stylistic creations. When discussing the stylistic creations of Radio Zulu's Kansas City, we commented that part of this praises were hyperbolic. He is an:

*Umfana omuhle
Omuhle kunabobonke
Abafana emhlabeni
The handsome boy
More handsome than all other boys
In the world*

What is said here is an exaggerated statement which is made to produce a certain effect and is not intended to be taken literally. It is not that Kansas City wants to tell his listeners that he is handsome; it is said simply for comic effort.

In the *izibongo* of Nzimande , also of Radio Zulu, we come across a heavy exaggeration of:

Bhodloz' umuntu ngewisa

The one who beats up a person with a kierie

and Johannesburg is described as:

Kwa-Nyama kayipheli
Kuphel' amaziny' endoda
 In the land where meat supplies are inexhaustible
 Only teeth are exhaustible

The expressions are both bold overstatements but appear more comically hyperbolic. The word *Bhodloza* is more frightening, as if the person praised has no mercy and is a very cruel person. Whereas Johannesburg is described as a city where meat is always in abundance, and if trying to finish it, your teeth get worn out. Though this expressions sounds hyperbolic, it also has symbolic connotations in that. It might symbolise a place where selfishness is not needed since everything is there. If you are selfish you might find yourself being the laughing stock.

This shows that one image can have another image as its underlying form, or one statement may carry one or more images.

What is noticed in the analysis of hyperboles in these stylistic creations, is that they frequently occur only in

izibongo of these announcers. There are no single statements where hyperboles can be traced. Nevertheless, it shows that hyperboles cannot be overlooked in any analysis of artists' work, whether written or spoken.

What we observed from the discussion of the above different images is that 'spoken language', whether in *izibongo* or any other form of oral creation, 'occur[s] naturally, in all [its] spontaneous purity, in the beautiful propositional clichés' (Jousse 1990:15).

As these images are still noticeable in the 'spoken word' of the 'electronic era', it proves that they are:

... past impressions, experiences made ever more complex by [stereotyped propositional gestures in which are embodied] ideas of an ever simpler type, permanently established.

(Jousse 1990:166)

Our illustration on how various announcers use various types of images show that imagery is the hallmark of the 'spoken word' in both the oral and written tradition.

Besides imagery, our announcers' stylistic creations were shown to have some kind of external shape or structure which differentiates them from the daily normal conversation.

Here, it was decided to discuss such shapes or structures under a different sub-heading - form.

4.3.1.2. Form

Regarding recitation, Marcel Jousse says:

For a true [mnemotechnical recitation] to exist, it must be composed of a predetermined number of [recitatives], each of which is regularly differentiated from the others, so as to form parts going to make up a [predetermined known] whole, or of an indeterminate number of [recitatives], each linked to the other by a [mnemotechnical link], a refrain, for example, [comprising one, or several, rhythmic schemas, or even simply one word or sound] ...
(Jousse 1990:204)

For Jousse, it is only those recitatives with mnemotechnical link, rhythmic schemas which have form. This form is created by those 'instinctive and universal mnemotechnical devices used by instructors in all oral style milieux which creates parallelism between balancing and balancing, and sometimes between rhythmic schema and rhythmic schema' (Jousse 1990).

It is these mnemotechnical devices that give form to these orally composed stylistic creations we will discuss here. These mnemotechnical devices come as mnemotechnical words

(parallelism), sound (alliteration and assonance), and rhythmic schemas (rhyme and rhythm). These devices are the deep-seated laws that announcers, as oral composers, use most in their broadcasting tradition, in Jousse's (1990) words, there are; The rhythmic and mnemotechnical oral style.

In our analyses of different announcers' stylistic creations, we kept on showing different types of devices that they used in their compositions. We noticed the heavy play on words, sounds and other forms.

Here we shall look at them as means of ornamentation to the created word and that will support the fact that announcers too, like oral composers are indeed, by nature 'mnemotechnical'.

We shall first look at the omnipresence of parallelism, i.e. the law of bilateralism that ranges from a single word to several lines, commonly known as repetition. This will be coupled with alliteration as a mnemotechnical device. Thereafter, we shall deal with the law of rhythm-mimicry, i.e. mimism linked with rhythm. All this will show the reliance of the announcer's mnemonic

faculties on 'formulism' in both the oral and written tradition. This will be a confirmation that the 'written word' of the electronic oralism did not deprive black announcers of the dependence on the mnemotechnical tools for their creations or compositions.

The law of bilateralism

Scholars such as Ong (1982), Lord (1960), Peabody (1975) and Jousse (1990) have examined bilateral elements of language in various ways.

Lord (1960) explains that, in oral composition, repeated fixed phrases are of great help to the singer in the rapid composition of his tale.

The law of bilateralism includes elements such as parallelism, assonance, alliteration, repetition which are peculiar characteristics of the oral style.

Parallelism

Refers to comparison or correspondence of the successive elements. It requires equal treatment for equally important aspects of the matter under consideration.

(Maphalala 1990:30)

Marcel Jousse states that:

The automatic procedure of parallelism is so powerful a psycho-physiological mechanism ... so violent a mechanism - that it has everywhere brought into being, in all oral style milieux, spontaneous binary or ternary types of rhythmic schema.

(Jousse 1990:187)

In parallelism two propositional gestures balance; each element in parallel. For example the stylistic creations of Radio Setswana are a good example.

Tsatsi la dikatana
Tsatsi la Saterdag
Tsatsi la metsameko
 Day of guitars (of grooving)
 Day of Saturday
 Day of sports

Each of these rhythmic schemas are 'binary' constituted by three balancings namely, *Tsatsi la*.

Cope (1968:40) divides parallelism into literal parallelism, parallelism contrasting ideas and cross parallelism. He defines parallelism as:

the variety of repetition to be found par excellence in Zulu poetry, not only perfect parallelism, as exemplified in the psalms, but also parallelism by linking, in which the following line is linked to the first line by repetition of either the first word (initial linking) or the last word (final linking). A comparison between these two types of parallelism, shows that perfect parallelism repeats the idea with different words; whereas parallelism by linking

advances the idea by means of an identical word or stem or root.

What we deduce here is that parallelism and linking are both forms of repetition. Hodza and Fortune commenting on this say:

The structural principles which organise lines into verses are both forms of repetition. They are called linking and parallelism.

(Hodza and Fortune 1979:91)

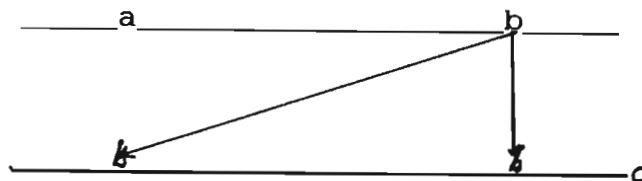
In black announcers' stylistic creations, we find various types of parallelisms which show the two-sidedness of man as an oral composer.

In other creation of parallelism there are cases where the unit in the first member of a verse is balanced by another unit in the second member. For example, in the stylistic creations of Radio Xhosa's Kaso, we have:

(a)	(b)	
Masambe	lahla	
(b)	(b)	(c)
Lahla	lahl'	umlenze

Let's go throw
Throw, throw your leg

Here we have the pattern:



which gives us two types of linking. Firstly, it is the oblique linking and secondly, the vertical linking. In the oblique linking its where one word in the first line occurs in a different position in the second line whereas in vertical linking a word in the first line corresponds almost vertically with the one in the second line, as indicated above.

Vertical linking can either be initial or final. The stylistic creation of Radio Swazi's Lukhele is a good example of initial linking:

Nang' uShushu Baby
Nang' uShukuma
 Here is Shushu Baby
 Here is Shukuma

The demonstrative *nangu* in its initial position is repeated again in the second line. This repetition embodies an extension of the idea in the first expression, Nangu Shushu baby.

... for the parallelistic form itself communicates part of the meaning, the 'what's more'.
 (Kugel 1981:41)

This oblique linking (as indicated above) is what Cope referred to as cross parallelism.

Other parallelism that seemed to be found in black announcers' stylistic creations is what Koch (1969) referred to as synonymous and antithetic parallelism.

Synonymous parallelism is what is sometimes called parallelism of meaning. These lines from Manabela of Radio Venda are a good example:

Ndi V M
Ndi Vasco Manabela
Ndi mutendeleki
Ndi mujizelezo
 I am V M
 I am Vasco Manabela
 I am the wanderer
 I am the all rounder

'*Mutendeleki*' and '*mujizelezo*' are equivalent. Although the meaning is not exactly the same, these two words might mean the same on the surface level. Using Kugel's (1981) symbolic representation, the relationship here is:

A, and as a matter of fact, B.

The first half parallels the other in meaning.

Antithetic parallelism is found where

fundamentally contrasting ideas sharpened by the use
of opposite or noticeably different meaning
(Cudden 1979:49)

The following stylistic creation from Radio Xhosa's *Kaso*
is a good example of this:

- A. *Uyandibiza Makazi?*
B. *Andifumi Mna lonto Makazi*
- A. Are you calling me Makazi?
B. I don't want that Makazi

In this expression A is a question, B a statement. B
parallels A in meaning and not in form. Secondly, B's
syntactic variation, 'negative verb-subject', is opposed
to the 'positive verb-subject', of the A half. What is
basically stressed here is especially semantic.

Cope (1968) refers to such parallelism as negative-
positive parallelism:

Here the verb of the first verse is the negative of
the verb that achieves the linking in the second
verse. It is to be noted that the verb of the first
verse is not always final, because of its objects.
(Cope 1968:43)

In our example, the verb of the first verse is positive
and in the second verse the verb is negative.

Our discussion of parallelism as we find in black announcers stylistic creation proves to us that paralleling, variously manifested, is a feature of style. It is more of a 'thought rhyme' (as Kugel puts it) than anything.

These parallelisms are not only positional, semantic but they are also rhythmic through the use of sounds.

What Jousse noticed in his study of alliteration in oral composition was that

the first propositional balancings in a rhythmic schema will also tend to set off a second propositional balancing containing the same stressed consonantal patterns, the same 'alliteration'.
(Jousse 1990:188)

The following lines from Motloung's stylistic creations are a good example of alliteration:

O a katakata
Go katakata ga se go sia

He is retreating
To retreat is not to run away

Other examples are:

Ke ya Kafa
Ke a Koba
Going this way

Bowing down

Despite the use of alliteration in both examples, we find a kind of crude initial rhyme. What we find here is balancing achieved through alliteration.

Lines from Radio Sesotho's Thuso

Motaung gives us an alliteration where it joins together the two phrases, and the meaning links the second balancing to the first balancing of the following phrase:

Bana ba o shebile
Bapula, o ba thube, Thuso
 The children are watching you
 Play on and crash them, Thuso

We also have the same example in Kaso's stylistic creations:

Zala mazawu
 Makazi Kaso

This interweaving of alliteration automatically dovetails the sentences into each other.

Explaining the way both parallelism and alliteration work in oral style, Jousse says it is

an inherent tendency in our organism to repeat automatically and rhythmically gestures it has just performed ...

(Jousse 1990:187)

We have discussed only a few examples to illustrate the black announcers' use of repetition in their stylistic creations. They use different and interesting methods of linking. They are in line with those found in oral composition of the oral milieu.

What comes to mind if we look at both parallelism and alliteration, is that these devices are not developed only as an aid to memory for listeners, but also for its own impressive elegance. They assisted the announcer to say what he wants to say artistically.

The law of rhythmo-mimism

According to Jousse (1990:9):

Man is gesture and gesture is man: thus putting the whole body at the disposal of thought.

Man is mimic, he receives, registers, plays and replays his actual experiences; as movement is possible in sequence only, mimism is necessarily linked with rhythm.

Jousse (1990), in his study of oral style, firstly noticed that oral style is human expression full of gestures, full

of melody, full of rhythm, because full of organic function. In the layman's language, rhythm is the arrangement which is more or less similar to stressed and unstressed extension of syllables, the lowering and raising of the voice, as well as repetition of syllables.

Reaske defines rhythm as follows:

Rhythm is created out of a patterned use of various words, sounds and accents which establish in our minds a collection of associations of sound and meaning. The pattern is established in the repetition of lines having the same number of syllables, as well as by the steady use of accent in the same way.

(Reaske 1966:13)

It is difficult, however, to give a fixed description of how exactly this rhythm is achieved since languages differ.

In fact, rhyme and rhythm are not even frequently mentioned as features of *izibongo*. Rycroft and Ngcobo acknowledge that

Rhyme as a line-end maker does not work effectively in Bantu languages by reason of their inherent structure.
(Rycroft and Ngcobo 1988:31)

Lestrades (1935:5) accepts metrical rhythm as a device in praise poetry and couples it with parallelism, chiasmus,

and linking. Jousse (1990:113) talks of 'rhythmic gestures' in any orally composed work. He contends that it can be very difficult to talk of 'rhythm' in a written work. Rhythm is clearly seen and felt during performance.

Concerning rhythm there are many differences among critics as far as the analysis of it is concerned. Our point of departure here will be that a person who is sufficiently orientated in the language is able to distinguish between a high tone, low tone or high-falling tone syllable in a word. It is also easy to feel the stressed and unstressed syllable.

Since we are dealing with oral composition and delivery, the content of each performance may vary quite widely, according to the context of the occasion, that is the responsiveness of the audience, and the personal whim of the praiser or announcer.

Like in traditional oral compositions, in announcer's stylistic creations there are cases where we can claim rhythm to exist through length and tone, and by looking at the equal number of syllables in a word.

There are instances where rhythm is achieved by balancing the length found in both lines on the first and last word, especially in parallelism.

1. *Masāmbē lāhla*
Lāhl' umlēnze
 Let's go throw
 Throw the leg
 (Kaso's stylistic creation)
2. *Ndi mutendelēki*
Ndi mujigelēzo
 I am the all-rounder
 I am the traveler
 (Manabela's stylistic creation)

Like in traditional *izibongo*, announcers' stylistic creations have a certain number of syllables, with different tonal levels.

a) The first set comprises one word of two syllables:

- | | |
|--------------------|-------|
| (i) <i>Zízi</i> | Name |
| (ii) <i>Shísa</i> | Burn |
| (iii) <i>Láhla</i> | Throw |
| (iv) <i>Rúthú</i> | Take |

Though these stylistic creations comprise the same number of syllables but they differ in their accentuation.

b) The following are made up of two words of three syllables each, also with different accentuation:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------|
| (i) <i>Másámbe Makázi</i> | Let's go Makazi |
| (ii) <i>Bátshise mbavula</i> | Burn them Mr Burner |
| (iii) <i>Máputla - Thámaga</i> | Totemic name |
| (iv) <i>Málôme wà máfahla</i> | Uncle of twins |
| (v) <i>Áyóbá áyóbá</i> | Let's dance |

c) Then there are those which are one word with more than five syllables each repeated, and those with more than two words with four or more syllables each:

- (i) *Máfaráfára*
Máfarázózò

Rhythm here is achieved through the arrangement of lines. They are arranged in couplet, both from one source: *farrass* both with the same number of syllables.

Other lines are arranged in triplets, also with the same number of syllables:

Tsátsi là díkatara
Tsátsi là Sáterdag
Tsátsi là métsamekò
 Day of guitars
 Day of Saturday
 Day of sports

This shows that the announcer is free to take a breath wherever he chooses like. But that breath taking must form a certain pattern. This breath must occur with a measure of regularity to provide a rhythmic pattern.

Ké á káfà
 Ké á kóbà
 Ké tséò
 Going this way
 Bowing down
 There it is

The breath is here controlled by the number of syllables in a line and the involvement of the psycho-physiological mechanisms of alliteration and parallelism.

What can be said from our observation in these expressions is what Peeters (1986:37) pointed out, that rhythm encompasses all formal constituents, and it is the way meaning acquires its shape. He also takes *Prosody* as a point of departure in The Song of Roland which has the elements of rhythm, as we have observe in the above-named examples.

Though we are not saying that the number of syllables to the line as well as prosodic features

is the scientific way or form of noticing rhythm, but at least it is a way in which we realise the discipline that the announcers have in breath taking when reciting these stylistic creations.

This also proves to us that what these announcers compose is not artificial creation or haphazardly done, but more artistically performed.

Masuku (1973) in the preface of his poetry book *Uphondo Lukabhejane*, argues that:

it is necessary to make use of a specific number of syllables to the line ... observing a specific number of syllables to the line will give us a scientific form ...

It is not all announcers that use what we have been discussing above. What we have been trying to achieve was at least the common base or features that are common to their stylistic creations.

It must be mentioned that Jousse's views on rhythm seem to be more free from further explanation, i.e. rhythm only exists in performance, which is a mnemotechnical concatenation, the psycho-physiological mechanism.

It is not easy to say the last word about rhythm especially with announcers stylistic creations. Much depends on the delivery, content of each performance and context of the occasion.

What one can say about the use of the law of rhythm-mimism in the announcers stylistic creations, is that:

As far as the rules of the [rhythmic schema] and the number of feet or syllables is concerned ... a [fixed] Caesure is in no way observed ... seeing that their works are composed exclusively to be declaimed, always in the same tone ...
(Jousse 1990:115)

4.4 Conclusion

In our discussion of imagery and form what was noticed is that an oral composition is not a random mixture of any or all possible words, but the realization of a particular traditional theme that the announcer develops by combining traditionally associated elements, namely, metaphors, personification, similes, symbolisms and hyperboles.

Peabody, in his discussion of the winged word as used by the singer, commented that:

The singer's mixing of single elements common to the natural language with ambiguous forms and phrases from the past accounts for the ability of the epos to maintain its cultural validity while asserting a diachronic restraint on cultural change.

(Peabody 1975:114)

Much was said about parallelism, and different types of parallelisms which showed that these announcers are not only singing the languages of their oral tradition, but they are:

conscious of the principle of automatic linkage, which so often intervenes, and formed the idea of subordinating it to their conscious direction, making of it a mnemotechnical regulating mechanism.

(Jousse 1990)

Their consciousness about verbatim repetitions proved that language does not often occur as a random sequence of simple signs. It occurs in syntactic periods compounded of sign units.

With regard to the analysis of rhythm, it is felt that it should be taken as a mnemotechnical device

that helps during composition, and a device that exists and can be realised only in performance. This rhythmic schema occurs in respect of all the propositional gestures and it is greatly facilitated by linguistic phenomena, namely length, tone and the number of syllables which are found in all black languages. It is this use of rhythm that makes these stylistic creations artistic, and gives them a remarkable technical perfection.

Our analysis of some announcers' broadcasting expressions into a number of syllables and different accentuations is a clear indication that:

formulas can be described by abstract schemata, since many of their features are regular and predictable; but as they actually exist, they are specific units of utterance.

(Peabody 1978:112)

These announcers' broadcasting expressions, in the form of words, clauses or sentences can be called 'formulaic' since they are regular that characterises traditional utterance. Like traditional oral styles, these expressions here

termed 'stylistic creations' are 'formulaic'. In them we find both 'formulas' (exact repetition) and 'formulaic expressions' (partial repetition) - as Lord (1960) distinguished.

There is no doubt that these announcers' stylistic creations are great oral works and they are the direct product of our oral tradition.

Black radio announcers, like oral singers, strive for a uniqueness of expression, where formulas are their words, chosen from their rich oral tradition; and, as singers with talent, show that the announcer is not merely a transmitter and 'noise maker', but the performer of actions that were performed in the past, but with more innovations.

The consistency in the patterns of language-sounds used by these announcers in their creation of different stylistic creations, makes them easily accepted as oral styles, since

In oral styles, more redundancy is to be

expected than in ordinary discourse; and it takes such forms as [rhythm] rhyme, alliteration, assonance, and much that is usually described as meter [i.e. structural repetition].

(Peabody 1975:3)

CHAPTER FIVE

5.1. Effects of Stylistic Creations

5.1.1. Introductory Perspective

Our discussion of black announcers' stylistic creations in this study showed, that we are indirectly dealing with a 'language' with its different linguistic elements. We realized that announcers, as artists, are at liberty to choose words, figures of speech and other expressions from the rich vocabulary of their languages and

... a central medium of social communication,
cultural cohesion and dissemination
(Whitehead 1990:7)

As language is dynamic and is easily affected by outside social elements, its effects are remarkable, too. An individual linguistic style-idiolect can easily influence or affect standard language. These stylistic creations show that 'there are as many different ways of using

language personally as there are individuals in a language community ' (Whitehead 1990:25).

Our examination of announcers expressions was similar to the observations of other linguists such as Whitehead:

... these different personal language styles are what the professional linguists must observe and collect in order to produce their objective summaries of language

(Whitehead 1990:25)

What we were doing was the examination of 'radio grammar', examining it through another medium which is language. Radio was seen from the perspective of language media or analysed through language. Through its power radio may have great effects. Radio grammar may easily 'spread' and be easily taken by the users of that particular language. This corroborates McLuhan's statement:

Today we're beginning to realize that the new media aren't just mechanical gimmicks for creating worlds of illusion, but new languages with new and unique powers of expression

(McLuhan 1960:2)

In this section we will examine the effects of these expressions, that is on the society as a language user,

the family group, musical groups as users of languages through the medium of singing, on the individuals and lastly on the broadcasting community particularly, the announcers themselves.

The chapter will try to examine at the literacy's role in shaping the 'modern man' and the role of radio as an electronic media in shaping language and modern values.

5.2. Effects of Styles

5.2.1. Effects on Society

Summers et al (1978:2) assert:

No other forms of communication have affected the lives of so many people in so many countries in so few years as have the electronic media of radio and television broadcasting. At almost any hour of the day, from early morning to late night, men, women and children in millions of homes throughout the world are listening to radio or watching television. Almost every country, no matter how poor or backward, provides a broadcasting service for its people. Even in those nations where the majority of people are illiterate, there is almost always radio broadcasting ...

Radio, in particular, has become the status symbol of the third world nation; it is felt to be proof of

modernization and of their ability to join other nations of the world community on an equal basis.

Though it is sometimes difficult to ascertain its long-range effects on listeners, it is easy to charge broadcasting with being responsible for creating new characters in society (for example as heard in radio drama), for introducing new words within society, for lowering the standard of language usage, and for too much debasement of popular tastes in music and drama.

Here we look at the radio as it exerts a direct influence on listeners collectively.

Most of the black listeners (especially those in rural areas) do their listening at home. They listen largely for entertainment, and their listening is more or less uncritical. The ideas offered in the programmes are conveyed by people whom they don't know but only hear their voices; the listeners get familiar with them and tend to regard them at least as acquaintances, if not as personal friends. These listeners have a high degree of

confidence in the reliability of these people on the broadcasting media of radio in particular.

It is easy for these listeners to imitate all 'words' or expressions used by these announcers. Either they adopt the individual words they use or their ways of addressing people.

There are expressions which get used by one particular society, for example, in one or two townships, and those which spread to more than two societies, even from city to city, and province to province. This leads us to focus on local and national effects.

These expressions are normally guided by an increase in commonalty, or what is shared between participants.

McQuil (1984) states that for this to exist:

there must, first of all, be a shared 'environment' - a social, physical and temporal space within the boundaries of which the participants are located.

The essence of a shared environment in all these senses is the shared experience of the world of referents which messages are about.

5.2.1.1. Effects on Society: Nationally

Wentzel Mnisi of Radio Zulu's expressions *shisa* (burn) is used in all societies. Nationally it has spread almost to all four provinces of South Africa. Whenever people are dancing *shisa* gets heard from the dancers regardless of sex or ethnicity.

Obviously here, commonalty and the shared social aspect are important. Regardless of the fact that the style is in Zulu, all black ethnic groups are able to use and understand it within the shared 'environment' (that of dancing).

Walahl' umlenze, *O Ketsang*, *Boogie down* are other expressions that affected different groups in society. *Walahl' umlenze* initially created a big debate as to whether it ought to be said on radio since it has 'sexual connotations'. Different artists/bands (cf 5.2.3.) which composed songs around this style, had their songs banned from being played on air. It was only later when a thorough explanation of this phrase was given to the record screening committee of the SABC, which listens to

the lyrics and wants proper standard language words to be used that the phrase (Walahl' umlenze) was defined as referring to 'dancing' and having nothing to do with sex. The banning of those records was lifted and later, the *Coca Cola Bottling Company* adopted the phrase for use in their *Coca Cola* advertisement. The phrase has even been accepted in standard Zulu language, meaning 'to enjoy, dance or have fun'. Such an adoption can be seen as 'language change, - adapting to new conditions and requirements' (Edwards 1985).

Boogie down has the same function and meaning as *walahl' umlenze*. Though listeners don't seem interested in the real meaning of 'boogie', they interpreted it as meaning 'dance'. This 'expression' started by being the individual name of certain announcers, namely Mkhize (Radio Zulu) and Kekana (Radio Swazi), and it was later adopted by listeners.

Sometimes, in such nationally popular phrases or compositions within the society, one starts wondering about their origin. In the preliterate world, the problem of origin seems to have little relevance

The truth of the matter is that our concept of 'the original', of 'the song', simply makes no sense in oral tradition.

(Lord 1960:101)

Lord's argument is that each performance is 'an original', if not 'the' original, since for each performance is more than a performance, it is a re-creation. (It should be noted that , Lord does speak of performance as a whole, not about single stylistic creations as we are doing here).

It is then irrelevant to ask where exactly all the nationally accepted styles originated. But on the question of gaining popularity, it is obvious that the answer is: the power of radio.

O ketsang seems to be totally different from the other two expressions. The reason is that its origin can be easily traced.

O ketsang originates from an artist, Rex Rabanye, who released an album entitled *O ketsang* in 1987. The record was played in all black services. It was then that *O*

ketsang became the national gimmick and it affected most societies.

O ketsang was used as a way of greeting: whenever one meets a friend s/he will say *O ketsang* and the other will reply *O ketsang*. *O ketsang* here is not used as a tool of communication, but as an emblem of friendship (Edwards 1985).

What we must bear in mind is that these announcers expressions were used in different groups because of communal and social relationships between those who participated, and the same shared environment of 'dancing' is involved.

5.2.1.2. Effects on Society: Locally

In this section, we are referring to those announcers expressions which have effects strictly in one particular society. It might either involve a certain group of people in the society or all groups. We must bear in mind that there are those expressions which are created not to entertain but also to enable certain groups to

keep secret the 'inherited, singular springs of their identity' (Edwards 1985).

The first good example here is that of *Khuz' imoni* by Radio Zulu public affairs announcer, Thokozane Ernest Nene. This phrase is seen more as concealment than as contrary to that of language as communication. The communication here is an in-group phenomenon, and the concealment an attempt, through this phrase, to maintain inviolate the group's own grasp of the world.

As explained in our analysis above, *Khuz' imoni* is centred around 'liquor'. The announcer's intention was to tell the drinkers to have beer in the morning so as to kill the hangover. Later, the meaning of the phrase was shifted. Presently, it means to go and drink. The expression is normally used if drinkers are trying to conceal that they are going to drink. In the KwaZulu and Natal societies, this is a very well known phrase. The phrase has affected the standard Zulu language which is in fact an adoption of English words to Zulu vocabulary, namely:

Imoni from 'morning'

Besides the fact that this expression might be entertaining, listeners (who are drinkers) find it interesting and enjoyable.

On the other hand we have expressions like: *Woza nawe*, *Fora bafana*, *Makazi* and *Nik' umtwan' ibhayi lakhe*. Some of these expressions will be dealt with under 5.2.4. They seem to be used by specific groups of people, for example young males in the townships. Presently, *Woza nawe* seems to be a favourable slogan in many *shebeens*, parties or any social gatherings, whenever there is music and fun. In the Western Cape, where people listen to Radio Zulu (through the CCV-TV channel) and Radio Xhosa, *Woza nawe* is used in conjunction with *Nik' umtwan' ibhayi lakhe*. One respondent mentioned that, sometimes when a young man is seen going together with a young lady, others will shout at them using this expression. Even in the rural areas the phrase seems to replace the traditional one: *Nongena nkomo uyayidl' inyama* (Even those without cows do eat meat).

Fora bafana is normally said in the whole Northern Transvaal area. In some areas, it means to praise somebody who has done good; in others like Attredgeville, Mamelodi and Soshanguve, the expression is used as a way of greeting one another. Instead of using the normal standardized way of greeting of that particular language, this gimmick is used as a replacement.

Radio listening among blacks occupies so many hours of the average South African daily, so it is easy to infer that these announcers with their creations have tremendous power to mould individual language within society.

Makazi Kaso's stylistic creations restored the original Xhosa word for 'aunt'. There are two words that refer to aunt in both Zulu and Xhosa, namely *malumekazi* (your uncle's wife) and *makazi* (your mother's elder sister). These names are no longer commonly used as 'aunt' has replaced them. But, because of Kaso's style, *Makazi* has extended its meaning. The way *Makazi* is used it refers to aunt as well as to any woman who is of the same age as your mother.

This shows that though radio language affects the standard language by adding new words, it also restores old words. Hence radio can restore as well as destroy.

What we realize with regard to the effects of these announcers stylistic creations on society, especially locally, is communication as an in-group phenomenon. The taking of *fora bafana* as a way of greeting, *woza nawe* as a way of showing joy and happiness, and many more, are examples of this in-group phenomenon.

Though we are living in technologically advanced societies, listeners are still accepting new forms of speech without checking whether they are relevant to our lives, but only to find that they affect us as we hear them daily over the radio.

The effects of these stylistic creations confirm that language is a conventional system in which communication rests upon agreement among members of the speech community. When the announcer composes these styles/expressions, he creates them with special attached

meaning, which the public interprets differently and gives them their own arbitrary meaning.

But, as will be seen below, the diversity of these expressions is seen to be rooted in the variety of social environments and thus, over time, a family group comes to share a common language.

5.2.2. Effects on Family Group

Though we discussed the effects of stylistic creations on society, we were aware that society is made of a complex web of interaction and relationships. Because of this

... society may be studied primarily as a structural and functional unit resulting from the co-operation and organization of various social groups, such as families, neighbourhoods, towns.

(Barbu 1971:31)

In order to be more systematic, it was decided to look at the effects of these stylistic creations on the family group.

In this study, and especially in this section, a family is described as a group of parents and children, and all persons descended from a common ancestor (especially with black people who live together as extended families), who have a strong daily face-to-face relationship.

Actually, the family comprises of people who mix with people of different status in society and come and share what they have experienced from outside with their brothers and sisters.

The effects of announcers' stylistic creations on the family group differ from those on society as a whole. Some family members get named after the announcers' names, either their real name or their air personality name. Parents seem to name their children after these announcers' air names, either because they admire their programmes, or they feel some affinity with the announcer himself. They want a closeness with the announcer.

In a survey where I was going around Lebowa, asking the Shangaan speaking people about their favourite announcers some Shangaan respondents confirmed that many children

are named daily after Sethosa's air-name, 'Zizi' and others are 'Zizi Rethea'. There is a male who confirmed that he is 'Mazozo', the boy from Mafarazozo. When asked who praised him thus, the answer was some of his family members. This praise is from Sefora of Radio Lebowa.

There is an interesting shift that can be noticed in naming people by using the announcers air-names.

Firstly, some announcers take these names from other people or musical bands and use them as their names without bothering about their origin. Later that name is taken by a family member, who is a listener.

Zolani Bhongco of Radio Xhosa calls himself 'The Sweetest Taboo' where 'taboo' is the name of the musical band.

Cyril Mchunu of Radio Zulu calls himself 'Kansas City' which is taken from Count Basie and His Orchestra.

Presently we have professional soccer players who named themselves after these public figures. When one of these soccer players was asked about who named him as 'Kansas City' - the answer was, "Its his family fans because he is Kansas' biggest fan". 'Mr Sweetest Taboo' of Umtata

Bucks FC was so named by his father because he is always a very quiet man.

This shows the impact of radio on the family and sports. Besides taking the air names of these announcers, some family members praise themselves through these announcers' praises. There are people who are presently 'The One and Only Your Man', which is Kansas' praise, stolen from Davies. Other families go to the extent of changing their totemic names and name theirs after that of the announcer they admire most in the family.

One announcer in Radio SeSotho informed me that there is a certain family in Lebowakgoma that wrote him a letter and informed him that they also belong to his clan of Mamokgethi. They asked him if he would introduce them to Tseliso Leballo whose air personality is centred around Mamokgethi. When Leballo replied to those people, he realized that there was no real relationship between them except that he was the most admired announcer.

What we realized with these ethnic-based radio stations is that they are not simply stations to entertain

families. Families adopt them not as friends but as brothers and sisters. A station may have up to ten announcers but only one or two will be really admired in the family. That announcer will influence that family strongly.

That is why each and every black station within the SABC has its most acclaimed announcer for society, the family and even for the individual. That explains why, when people see an announcer on the street, they shout at him by calling him by his air name or style. That shows the impact announcers have in black society.

Lastly, in some families (and also in the wider community), children normally compose their games and songs around announcers' broadcastong expressions. My two weeks stay at Nelspruit proved to me that Mahlangu of Radio Ndebele is a very popular announcer in families, especially among children. Children were singing his styles as he sung them on air. The most popular ones were:

Aya aya ayayaya
Ayoba ayobayo

Punka punka aha aha

Meaningless as they are, these styles are sung as songs, by children in families and even on the streets.

Children imitate Mahlonga exactly as he sings them. One old man even said that Mahlangu's expressions have even been adopted by mothers using them as "*imilolozelo*" (lullabies) to soothe their babies.

They are freely used as newly formed "*imilolozelo*" in all families, instead of tracing and using the lullabies.

What makes Mahlangu's styles more popular among mothers and children in families is that these styles are said in children's programmes, and also presented by the very same man.

On the effects of styles on family group, I want to conclude that although we are involved in this socialization into the Western traditions in the last few centuries and sometimes, more specifically, into a literacy and academic ethos, it is still easy to see oral performances of this era welding into the old forms of performances.

Firstly, naming oneself after someone one admires or after a hero, or naming one's child in such a way, was accepted practice in preliterate families (Peabody 1975). Secondly, the same is true of some oral transmission as we find from the announcers as they are replacing if not bringing back the old forms of transmission which people have nearly forgotten, namely *imilolozelo*.

Radio's impact may be viewed as twofold: firstly, it destroys or adds innovations on the behaviours of the family members, and secondly, it restores those oral performances which family members had originally forgotten and which were the stabilization and richness of their culture.

5.2.3. Effects on Musical Group

Not every listener only listens to the radio for commercial advertisements or announcers' voices. S/he, too, wants to be entertained. Primarily, s/he enjoys and admires one announcer if s/he plays good music and her/his speech is not boring. In radio, words and music can never be divorced, since:

Music also requires the clarification of words ...
 [and] without the words in the foreground when music
 is broadcast ... nothing gets clear
 (Crisel 1986:57)

What lead to the inclusion of the consideration of effects of those stylistic creations on musical groups is twofold: firstly, there are those creations about which its not clear whether they are originated from musical groups or from an announcer. Secondly, these musical groups have popularised some of those expressions by composing songs around them. Their records have sold thousands of copies because of the announcers' artistic expressions involved in them.

Two popular Radio Zulu announcers, namely Wentzel Mnisi and Welcome Nzimande , have even recorded their own album entitled *Ithulamsindo*.

Where most of the songs in the album are composed around their stylistic creations and some even get narrated as praises in the middle of songs.

This means Wentzel and Welcome's artistic expressions (see Wentzel and Welcome's stylistic creations at the

appendices) are now given melody and rhythm which are also mnemonic aids.

Vansina (1985:11) noted that 'many people recall the words of a song by working from the melody'.

As indicated above, several South African indigenous bands have melodied and rhythmicized these black announcers' stylistic creations. What must be mentioned here is that in some of the stylistic creations it is very difficult to understand whether they were originally created by artists or by the announcers.

The most popular creation of a good example is '*Pho indaba kabani?*' (Ain't nobody's business). The style was firstly sung by the popular pop band JE Movement, and recorded and produced by Simon Buthelezi of Protea in Johannesburg.

The question here is: 'Was the creator of the phrase the band or was it Wentzel Mnisi?'. Mnisi's response on this issue is that 'it is not important who created it but the expression is there'. On the other hand, the record

producer is claiming the expression for his band. Later, the very same expression was taken by an artist known as 'Kamuzu' of Gallo Teal Record Co who composed a song about bigamy. The song kept on repeating: *Pho indaba kebani, uma nginabafazi ababili?* (Whose business is it, if I have two wives?).

Obviously, the song was composed after the JE Movement's song and after Mnisi had already started popularising the song on radio. The expression gained more momentum on its popularity and all black stations (as they were all playing the record) started saying this expression.

The expression that clearly identify their origin are *Walahl' umlenze*, *'Shisa'* and *Khuz' imoni*

The first two expressions are originally from Mnisi and the last one is from Thokozane Nene, both announcers of Radio Zulu.

The first expression, *Walahl' umlenze*, has been popularly used a lot by four South African musical bands, namely

Abangani - under CTV label
 Soul Brothers - Soul Brothers company
 Stargo Man - Gallo Teal (Dephon) record company
 Mercy Pakela - Mike Fuller reocrd company

Though this style has been used by all these bands/artists it is interesting that they did not deviate much from its original meaning as used by Wentzel Mnisi. Rather than deviating, some have added some jocular flavours on the expression. Soul Brothers are talking about a woman whom, when she dances (*lahl' umlenze*), attracts males because of her body, whereas Abangani are singing about a woman who left her children and husband in the rural area and got hooked by 'nice things' in the urban area, where she is busy 'dancing' day and night.

Stargo Man has no narrative lyrics although he keeps on repeating the expression *Walahl'umlenze* from beginning to end.

Mercy Pakela dramatizes the whole expression by addressing the young children not to go around 'throwing their legs' - which somehow has a sexual connotation.

But, in general the phrase is literally used to mean 'dancing'. Also, the very same expression is used more to please, and make more sales on their records, as artists/bands know that they are popular.

The second expression, *shisa*, has been further popularised by Dr Victor in his album *Tambayi*. Although the song has a political inuendo, Dr Victor keeps on repeating *shisa*, encouraging people to dance. Sometimes this style is used in his record more humorously, and the album has sold more than 20 000 units because of this style.

Abakhwenyana, under the CCP (EMI) record company, the other famous indigenous band, has further popularized the expression '*khuz' imoni*' by Thokozane Nene. The whole song has a connotation of telling listeners that 'drinkers', instead of going to work on Monday, decide to sit and rub off the hang-over: '*khuz' imoni*'. The style is not removed from its original meaning. The analysis of the expression '*khuz' imoni*' was outlined above, and interestingly enough, the band Abakhwenyana did not

bother about *khuz' imoni's* origin and analyses but rather got stuck on the content.

What must be mentioned here is that these artists/bands are performers, like announcers who are there to entertain. Their performances must also involve an audience, and at the same time, we must not forget that 'the interests of performers are almost entirely conditioned by the interests of the community of which they are members' (Vansina 1985:35). Artists/bands have melodised and rhythmicised these stylistic creations because of the knowledge that the community needs and enjoys them.

Radio, here, can be seen as a tradition-spreader or -maintainer through two ways, namely announcers' mouths and musical artists/bands.

The effects of these stylistic creations on musical bands and artists clearly shows the shift of individual personal idiosyncrasies of expressions to 'group' re-created expressions, re-created through instruments and drums.

Though we know these styles, artists and bands have made them more popular especially to other ethnic groups, and they've made these styles based on old forms:

... every performance is new, but every performance
presupposes something old: the tale itself
(Vansina 1985:35)

Our musical artists/bands still continue an old tradition where there were cases where the tonal languages (in various parts of Africa) are drum rhythms used to transmit information. Vansina (1985) and Finnegan (1971) confirm that drums were used for long distance communication, and that these drum names and slogans often preserve historical information. Hence, our modern musical artists and bands still further the same oral compositions in the same method.

Other Sotho group bands/artists have taken some stylistic creations as straightforward gimmicks - that is without singing them but by mentioning them in the middle of a song. An artist known as Thomas Chauke, under Tusk record company, singing in Shagaan, has a tendency to mention the expressions like

Mazozo
Mafarazozo

which are originally from Sefara of Radio Lebowa. Professor Rhythm, who mixes Nguni and Sotho languages, draws announcers' expressions in all black services. There are instances where he mentions '*fora bafana*' which is from Sethosa of Radio Lebowa, *Hi mina matswala hasi* from Nkomo's oral traditional style of Radio Tsonga, and the expression *shapela fatshe* from Thuso of Radio SeSotho.

Though Chauke does not sing about these expressions, he mentions these styles on his instrumental songs, thereby increasing his sales. Rex Rabanye composed a song that was instrumental and the expression '*O Ketsang*' was used as a title of the record, after being popularised by Thuso of radio SeSotho. The record sold more than half a million units!

In conclusion, musical artists and bands are also working within the specific tradition. Their manipulation of these stylistic creations indirectly includes the

manipulation of their tradition itself and its values, and they give fresh relevance, fresh meaning and being to these styles and expressions.

Though the relation of words to music in a performance is by no means an easy matter to resolve, here these artists and bands did not violate the syntactic structure of these expressions in their music use.

Nettl (1956), in his work '*Music in Primitive Culture*', observed that, in many cases, linguistic features are violated when words are combined with music. What these artists/bands do, is to take the expression with all its prosodic features, syntactic order and use it repeatedly in their songs with announcers.

The effect of stylistic creations on musical groups shows that musicians are also doing what was happening in the old oral tradition. They assist the announcers in popularizing and spreading these stylistic creations:

In tales traditionally told to the accompaniment of music, it is interesting how much influence music exerts on the narrative element. Once music is removed, something strange begins to happen to the

words of tale ... But many a time music has come to the rescue of a straying imagination; when the details of the tale become entangled or uncontrollable, the bard can count on the music to sustain the performance while the loose ends are being tied together.

(Okpewho 1979:58-9)

The traditional broadcasting world-view gets exposed by both the announcer and the musical artists/bands by manipulating these announcers oral expressions imaginatively, by means of their dynamic sense of form.

5.2.4. Effects on Individuals

Effects of literacy on the individual are more sensitive than on a family group, society or any other field. It is so sensitive in that it touches the individual per se and disturbs his/her psyche, behaviour or ego. McLuhan (1962) noted that any technological revolution brings about effects on individual attitudes, beliefs and values. McLuhan's approach differed from Parry(1928) and Lord(1960) in the study of the relationship between orality and literacy, in that McLuhan looked at the effects of literacy on the organism itself rather than observing the entire poetic process under oral conditions.

McLuhan's thorough commitment to the study of the effects of technology on man as an individual, led him to conclude that

Since all media are fragments of ourselves extended into the public domain, the action upon us of any one medium tends to bring the other senses into play on a new relation. As we read, we provide a sound track for the printed word; as we listen to the radio, we provide a visual accompaniment.

(McLuhan 1964:267)

The radio demands complete participation, unlike the written and printed word. The listener resents such a heavy demand for his total attention. The announcers words can make you dance (physical occupation) and make one laugh by imagining what the announcer is saying.

Black announcers' stylistic creations have changed individual languages or ways of speaking drastically. People have coined different ways of speaking through these announcers artistic expressions. Objects or subjects have been termed by using words or expressions from these announcers' creations. Good examples here are the styles of 'walking' and the description of different types of 'dances'. People talk of a person who walks

'ispotoriko' which is from Mahlangu's style. There is also the 'isilahlamlenze' dance. An individual who walks 'ispotoriko' will call himself 'ispotoriko', and the same with the dancers of 'Usilahlamlenze'.

Some night-club respondents who were asked about the township life in Mamelodi informed me that there is a group of individual gangsters who call themselves the 'Sackas', whereas in Atteridgeville in the same city, Pretoria, there are the 'Punkas'. The 'Punkas' comprise both males and females, whereas the 'Sackas' are only males. Both of these expressions are from Mahlangu of Radio Ndebele. This caused the individual to call himself the 'Sacka' or the 'Punka' in order to identify himself with his specific gangsters. Such a move done by individuals through radio listening supports McLuhans' words that radio has

The power of radio to retribalize mankind, its almost instant reversal of individualism into collectivism
(McLuhan 1964:304)

Though there seems to be some similarities on effects of stylistic creations between family group and individual, as far as the taking and naming oneself after the

announcers airnames goes, there are national effects on the individual as far as the taking of announcers praises by the individual listeners is concerned.

Our research confirmed that listeners of all ethnic services are behaving like people in preliterate societies by stealing their heroes' (announcers') praises.

Besides taking names, we have Radio Lebowa listeners who praise themselves as

Re tshedise Matlere
Lead us on

Among Radio Tsonga listeners we have

Hi mina matswala hosi
I ndlozi lerinkulu
I am the one who bears the chief
It is the great spirit

It was amazing to hear that there is an *Induna* of the state in LebowaKgomo rural area who praised himself after Ligudu's praises. Though the *Induna* did not take all lines from Ligudu's phrases but he chose only those which do not mention Ligudu's ancestors. The *Induna* is:

Wa Lunugwi lwa Mmbabanana
 Hu si na vhuladzo ha nwana
 Of Lunungwi of Mmbabanana
 Where there is no childhood illness

which is taken from the expression of Tovhoweni Ligudu of Radio Venda.

This taking of announcers' praises by individuals and the naming of oneself or child after one's name or praises is an old custom among black people of the Southern hemisphere.

Kunene (1971) noticed this among the Basotho. He writes that

In naming a child, the Basotho did not, as a rule, choose a name simply because the parents liked it, but for its relevance to a given situation, or for a certain purpose that the name was supposed to fulfill; this in addition, of course, to naming the child after someone, usually a relative.
 (Kunene 1971:11)

This implies that if a child had been named after a relative, then playfully, but sometimes with a measure of seriousness, people were expected to behave towards the names as if the names were the person after whom the had been named.

The philosophy of naming one's child after the admired hero still exists among the people of the electronic era. It is obvious that people still think that the identity of the announcer as an original bearer of the name (and a popular respected person), through the power of the name, is mystically transferred to the child through this intentional naming-after.

Here we can recall many of such instances which were dealt with under 5.2.3

On the other hand individuals take announcers' styles or names as their nicknames. In rural areas mostly, we have people who call themselves *Ugxaba Lembadada* (The old Zulu sandal). In the Maphumulo area, in the vicinity of Indwedwe, we know of a young shop owner, Moses, who named himself after Thokozane's praises

Ugxaba lembadada
Untombi zimcela uxolo
 The old Zulu sandal
 Young women ask him an excuse

These praises have been written on the sides of the walls of his shop, too.

Besides finding people naming themselves after the announcers' praises or names, taxi owners (mostly under SABTA) throughout the whole Republic have a tendency to name their cars after the announcers' stylistic compositions.

In Umlazi, we have taxis on which is written '*Kulikhuni!*' (It is difficult!), '*Woza nawe*' (And you too come) and '*Ngempela*' (Really), which are from Radio Zulu announcers' stylistic creations.

In Umtata, I saw one taxi on which was written '*Lazozo*' and '*Ndibuz' undithi nca*' (Ask me until no more), whereas in Pietersburg there are three taxis that we noticed on which was written '*Ayobayo*', '*Thiza Thiza*' and '*O a katakata Bra*' which are also from the announcers' creations.

Such adoption of announcers' styles shows the impact radio has on an individual and his property. Individuals even prefer to identify their properties, such as cars

and shops, with the certain station he listens to and the announcer he favours most.

To individuals, the announcers' ethos, that is his image via appearance, sound, personality, delivery and speech makes a great impact. Individuals get motivated to identify themselves with these announcers.

On the whole, in many respects, radio has had a wholesome effect on our individual, family group and our society, as listeners of radio especially in the widespread dissemination of these stylistic creations as seen above.

In a nutshell, announcers on radio exert some degree of influence on the tastes and attitudes and perhaps the behaviour of the listening public.

5.2.5. Effects within the broadcasting community

Dudek, in his work entitled '*Professional Broadcast Announcing*', states that

Exposure to the work of radio announcers throughout the country produces the conviction that most of them seem to be vying to be duplicates of one another. Consciously or unconsciously, each appears to mimic

the style of the others as though there were a standard announcer delivery to which all must conform.

(Dudek 1982:6)

Concerning Dudek's statement there are many differences among radio scholars. There are those who severely criticize 'duplication' and 'imitation' of styles by announcers. Others view it as a fair game in the field of broadcasting.

O'Donnell et al is the first group that favours imitation as development of one's style:

Imitate performers who have style elements you would like to adopt. Do this during practice sessions and within the bounds of reason.

(O'Donnell 1987:61)

Though O'Donnell et al approve imitation they also add some warnings that

Before adapting stylistic devices, analyze why those styles are successful for the performers who utilize them. Ask why the style element bolsters that person's performance.

(O'Donnell 1987:61)

Seemingly though O'Donnell et al approve of learning from the techniques and successes of others, they have some

reservations as far as the aping of their styles is concerned.

Hyde (1988) is also arguing along the same line. He expresses the opinion that

Good announcing is not imitation, it is communication. Most outstanding announcers succeed because they are unique. They retain their individuality as they focus on getting their messages across. True communication as an announcer begins when you learn who you are, reflect yourself in your delivery, and know that you are speaking to individuals, not to a crowd.

(Hyde 1988:19)

Also, Hyde is positive with imitation, though with some reservations.

It must be clearly stated that in broadcasting, especially in black services it seems, the ability to select the most effective and fresh words and say them well is the main art of broadcasting. As an announcer, you can make what you say or even a message more effective than it would be if communicated directly via the written word. The fact that only those few announcers were discovered to have stylistic creations supports Hyde's point that

Not all announcers have a sense of social commitment, and not all who do are in a position to accomplish very much.

(Hyde 1983:17)

Mandelson (1964), Kirschner (1971) and Heath (1969) are radio scholars who support Dudek (1982) in favouring imitation in broadcasting. Though Mandelson views imitations as the only way of developing oneself in broadcasting, Kirschner supports imitations on the grounds that announcers ought to promote themselves by taking styles from their internal colleagues or colleagues from other stations - since no broadcasting training gets given when they join the broadcasting field. Dudek approves imitations because each announcer's

... presentation must compete for attention among many distracting stimuli which come from all around and within people, impinging on the external and inner (kinesthetic) sense. The magnitude of your task of gaining and holding attention now becomes apparent. Every moment of your performance, therefore, must be calculated to be the strongest and most attractive of the many stimuli.

(Dudek 1982:6)

It must be stressed and strongly emphasized that broadcasting, as oral communication, somehow ought to

coincide with some elements found in normal oral communication of, as for example, in oral, that is preliterate cultures. Firstly, no one lives in a vacuum, and secondly, the way in which other professionals work must have an effect on each of us. It stands to reason that announcers do use bits and pieces of various style categories to form their own unique styles.

Black announcers have used several elements (either from within the service - internal, or from another service - external) as Kirschner (1971) noted, to hone their particular deliveries. For example, Cyril 'Kansas City' Mchunu of Radio Zulu admits that he stole the phrase 'This is your man - the one and only' from David Davies of the Lorenzo Marques radio station, and that he owes the pseudonym 'Kansas City' to his fanatical devotion to Bassie's Song.

The only thing that the announcer can do after taking some element from a colleague's style is to add more colour, like a more aggressive, or confidential, authoritative, tone and a measure of physical appeal (O'Donnell 1987:60) in his own expressions.

Oralists, namely Lord (1960), Peabody (1975) and Duggan (1973), to mention but a few, also approve of taking one's style, or a phrase from one's style, to make your own. Lord clearly states that

[The singer] will listen to his elders with more attention to the lines and phrases. He will pick them up from any singer whom he hears. As he practices singing by himself he realizes the need for them and he uses them, sometimes adjusting them more or less consciously to his own needs, or unconsciously twisting them. They are not sacred but they are useful. In this way he acquires the formulas of his elders and establishes his own formula habits. He is doing what all singers before him have done.

(Lord 1960:34)

Two statements are worth highlighting in Lord's assertion. The first one is that these phrases/lines are not sacred but useful, and secondly, the singer is not doing this for the first time, but he does what 'all singers before him have done'.

This cannot be taken as imitating or aping another singer; its the way of continuing the tradition and showing that it assists the singer in his composition.

Duggan too supports the same argument:

Each singer in the oral tradition is at liberty to change any individual verse, and even to modify longer portions of the received work as he sees fit, as long as his audience does not prevent him from doing so by its protestations.

(Duggan 1973:84)

Announcers have done exactly as Duggan states. They have taken others stylistic creations (both externally and internally) and modified them; some have used them as they are and others have added their individual tastes on them.

This has shown that announcers did not only affect the societies, family groups, musical groups and even individuals through their stylistic creations, but they have even affected themselves.

As Kirshner (1971) noted, imitation has happened both internally and externally. That is why in our work we will divide our effects on the broadcasting community into internal and external effects.

5.2.5.1. Internal Effects

In our analysis of the announcers' various stylistic creations, we realized two things: firstly, that there

are styles in which it is very difficult to ascertain who the owner is (as hinted above), and secondly, that there are styles in which it is easy to ascertain who the owner is, but which were adopted by others for example, announcers and musical groups. This happens among the announcers of the same service and outside the service. Our research showed us that within one service, one announcer can create one style and later this style will get used by other announcers within the service itself. Radio Zulu is the first victim of this phenomenon.

Wentzel Mnisi and Welcome Nzimande are the main announcers in the service whose styles have affected other announcers. It is confusing to try and ascertain who is the real composer of their compositions. They always work hand in hand and they even share programmes on air. But, although we cannot be one hundred percent sure, Wentzel seems to be the main composer of their styles.

This is said because Welcome has dopped his own styles and is presently using Wentzel's styles. Both announcers Mnisi and Nzimande use the following expressions

Shisa (Burn)
Woza nawe (And you come)
Ngeke (Know)
Ngiyakubiza nje (I am calling you)
Ngiyasabela nje (I am replying)
Angikho (I am not there)

In all of these compositions, it is very difficult to ascertain who is the real owner. 'Woza nawe' (and you come) is partly from Wentzel and partly from Welcome. Welcome had a tendency to say repeatedly in his programmes: 'Woza, woza, woza' (come, come, come) which later Wentzel developed by adding 'nawe' (and you) in his own expression.

Wentzel's other compositions are from musical groups as we indicated above. The composition: 'Pho' 'indaba'kabani?' (But whose business?) ended up being said by almost all Radio Zulu announcers. Welcome added his own taste on the style 'shisa' (burn) and his expression evolved into 'shisa phela'.

All these expressions are presently used by almost all announcers in Radio Zulu. The first culprits in this is announcers like 'Kansas City' Mchunu, Sam Mkhwanazi (who uses almost everybody's styles) and the public affairs announcers. Normally the most used styles by all other announcers is *shisa* and *woza nawe*.

Welcome Nzimande has developed another style from these styles. The expression is always said at the end of the record or if there is a short silence on air. The expression is '*ngempela?*' (really?).

The same expression has spread among his colleagues and its frequently used by the other two announcers, namely Kansas Mchunu and Sam Mkhwanazi.

One cannot exactly state the reasons why these announcers use other colleagues' styles. In a different context, Lord commented that

Since the singer learns his art from other singers and in his turn influences them, there are many formulas which are used by a large number of singers ... Salih learned [his formulas] bit by bit from the singers whom he heard, and they from all whom they heard, and so forth back for generation. It would be

impossible to determine who originated any of them. All that can be said is that they are common to the tradition; they belong to the 'common stock' of formulas.

(Lord 1960:48-9)

Maybe this is applicable also to radio announcers.

Announcers have created their own broadcasting tradition or are still following a tradition created by the people who filled the airwaves with their talents in early broadcasting, as O'Donnell (1987) noted.

Though these announcers use other colleague's styles by changing or adding their own words, we know from Albert Lord's testimony that a singer may alter every line of a song. For in the oral tradition the reproduction of a song consists not in a phrase by phrase rendering of the previous version, but in a re-creation, often with quite different phraseology, of what is basically the same plot, for example:

Wentzel *shisa* (burn)
Welcome *shisa phela* (alright burn)

Welcome *woza* (come)
Wentzel *woza nawe* (and you come)

Wentzel *Ngiyasabela nje* (I am answering)
Welcome *Ngiyasabela phela ... sabela* (but I am answering-respond)

Other similar examples are traceable in other stations.

Maxwell Majapelo of Radio Lebowa has an expression *rati rati*, and his colleague Legudu has developed it to *rati rati my kind*, which gained more popularity than Majapelo's style.

Sefara of the same station composed an expression *farrass, Mafarafara*, from his surname, and his colleagues shortened *farrass* to *farra*. This is normally said in the middle of music as some sort of an encouragement to listeners, to keep on dancing.

In Radio Xhosa, Kaso's style *Batshise Mbawula* is often used by her male colleagues. The phrase is the title of the programme and her personal programme identification style. Most announcers have adopted the same style for their own use. Even when Radio Xhosa announcers are together, they use *Batshise Mbawula* as their jargon.

In the phone-in programmes, there is a newly developed style in the same station if one is passing a request.

The announcer in studio instead of using the encouraging 'yes, yes' showing that he is listening to the caller, the announcers keeps on saying *A! Mtwana* which is from Zolani Bhongco's stylistic creations. It is used as a gesture to the listener that the announcer is still listening.

The intensive use of *Batshise Mbawula* and *A! Mtwana* seems to work like a formula. They have developed from the level of song normal stylistic creation to the level of formulas. Or maybe one may argue and say all stylistic creations can be summed up under formulas. But, as these two above styles (including *O Ketsang?* (What are you doing?) of Radio SeSotho's Thuso, which is also used by his colleagues, are frequently used by other announcers, they seem to be more common than other styles. They have easily been absorbed into the minds of the announcers. The reason may be that they seem to describe one common situation, that of dancing. They are used as they are by other announcers, without any change to their structure.

Lord (1960:66) cited that such use of expressions might otherwise make us think of the formulas as being the

same, no matter from whose lips it proceeds. And the addition of new words in one's expression is exactly what is happening in the creation of formulas, where:

New formulas are made by putting new words into the old patterns.

(Lord 1960:13)

Our discussion clearly reveals that while listeners are affected by these announcers' stylistic creations, and make use of them wherever they want, announcers too are busy affecting one another with them.

However, it is difficult to know whether they are doing this deliberately or unconsciously, especially if they are all within one service. Maybe announcers do such imitation for competition among themselves, for popularity, or it is mere influence, as was happening among bards and singers in the preliterate oral traditions(Lord 1960).

What is interesting is that these effects do not only happen and end internally but they spread outside the service that is from one station to another.

5.2.5.2. External Effects

Stylistic creations created by the black announcer have proved not to be a creation of one radio station.

They have shown a great movement from one radio station to another. One style can be created by Radio Xhosa announcers, and later get spread to another station.

The question in this regard might arise as to how these styles spread from one radio station to another. Do announcers inform others about their creations? Do some announcers listen to others and then use their styles?

There are three possible answers to these questions. It should be possible that there are some agencies involved in the spread of these stylistic creations.

Firstly, there is a possibility that announcers from different stations do monitor one another. Through that, they can hear other announcers' styles, and if an announcer finds it suitable for him, he will immediately start using it.

The only difference is that once the announcer has taken someone's style, he might stylize it in his own way, so as to make it sound different. Lord (1960:100) mentioned that 'any particular song is different in the mouth of each of its singers'.

One announcer sometimes might find circumstances forcing him to adopt these styles on two conditions, that is so long as he sees them as useful in his composition, and if the style will develop his own creation and sound more formulaic or artistic. Peabody (1975:219) commented that 'the traditional mind has no ready resources to make such inventions or even to imagine it'. Hence, another colleague can be the only possible source of one's creation.

Secondly, musical artists/groups are the possible agencies of spreading these stylistic creations. In our discussion of the effects of announcers styles on musical groups we outlined that musical group compose their songs around the announcers styles, and these songs get played by all of the ethnic stations. One announcer might hear the style from the artists song and feels he would like

to use the expression, without tracing or bothering about its origin.

On the other hand, there are those styles which originate from artists or musical bands, which later get picked up by different announcers of different radio stations. An example of this is Lucky Dube's reggae slogan 'ayobayo'. This phrase is originally from Lucky and his record spread the phrase all over the other services, to such an extent that the phrase was even used by the public. Other musical artists composed songs around this phrase and others named themselves after it, for example. The 'Hard Workers' group/band under CTV Record Company composed a very popular instrumental song on *Ayobayo*.

Musical groups and announcers share the 'same culture and mechanics of an oral tradition, like those of language itself, which are shared by all those individuals who participate in this cultural institution' (Peabody 1975).

Thirdly, it is the 'tradition' itself which might be the basic course of such similarities of styles. Besides the international literate broadcasting tradition that exists

in the broadcasting field (See O'Donnell 1987), black announcers have their own broadcasting tradition which is the mixture of their own ethnic tradition, namely praising, totemism, and genealogical references in one's speech; and the normal tradition they learn in the broadcasting field, that is how to present or sound entertaining in a more literate way. The 'tradition' which we may call 'announcers' ethnic oral tradition is the one that we are referring to here.

Black announcers differ totally from white announcers. Their growth environment has never been the same. Many black announcers grew in the environment of herding cattle, where they learn to praise those cattle, to praise themselves and also in the environment where they are told about the importance of the ancestors which later must be honoured. That is why there are more praises found among black announcers and the recognition of their geneological line.

In their broadcasting, black announcers naturally use their traditional experiences and traditional words. Their tradition of birth seems to be the same. If the

announcer in Radio Ndebele hears his colleague in Radio Zulu praising himself in his own language, the other announcer will easily copy that. A good example is Radio Zulu announcer Mkhize VVO who praises himself as:

The boogie funky man

and the Radio Swazi announcer Alfred Sambo who added his own words on Mkhize's expression and praised himself as:

The boogie man from Radio Swazi

Black announcers can be likened to 'oral bards who use traditional words that [they] organize in traditional ways. Their stylized forms seem to result from the regular or traditional performance of certain specific acts' (Peabody 1975). The fact that black announcers use most set phrases which are bits and pieces of their colleague announcers' compositional activities, shows that they operate like oral bards within a common oral tradition.

Their styles, especially those who use totemic names, genealogies and praises, prove their compositions to be not a random mixture of any or all possible words, but as

the realization of tradition that they have grown up with, and that results in the combining of these traditionally associated elements with their own new creations.

Peabody's observation that

Traditional singers, though they may be blind, have experience and memories - memories probably more retentive than those of many literate people. Bards remember what they experience. The repetition of blocs of verses that occurs sporadically through the epos is best explained as the memory of passages sung in former times - passages not memorized so that they can be repeated, but just remembered.

(Peabody 1975:454)

This is an apt commenting on what we are trying to explain here.

There are those stylistic creations which are used by all announcers in both Nguni and Sotho radio services. Then there are those which are common only in either Nguni or Sotho stations and others only used in individual services. An expression undergoes some changes or new words get added when used by each individual station. Three expressions provide good examples of this:

ayobayo (dance)
walahl' umlenze (you throw your leg)
shisa (burn)

Firstly, it is very difficult to trace the origin of some of these expressions. *Walahl' umlenze* is the first one; *shisa* is assumed to be Wentzel's expression and *ayobayo* is from Lucky Dube.

But, these styles are used by other announcers in their respective stations and get changed to suit them.

In Radio Zulu, Wentzel has added *lento* (this thing) in *walahla umlenze* and dropped the object *umlenze* (leg), for example

Walahl' umlenze > lahla lento

Morphologically, the subjectival concord *wa-* in *walahla* has been dropped and only the verb stem got used.

Instead of using the noun (*umlenze*) Wentzel preferred to use the demonstrative *lento*.

Kaso of Radio Xhosa uses the same style, but in her case, emphasis is laid more on repetition of the verb stem *lahla* (throw) without deleting the object *umlenze* (leg):

lahla lahl' umlenze
throw, throw the leg

and she also developed the expression

masambe lahla
let's go throw

For Kaso, seemingly, it is the rhythmic content that is important as well as the sound pattern formed by *lahla* as it is repeated in this expression.

Kaso further develops the phrase by

Lahl' ithumbu
Throw the intestine

What we notice in this expression is the change of the object. Instead of *umlenze* (leg), it is *ithumbu* (intestine) which must be thrown.

What we notice in such a creation is the striving for uniqueness of expression rather than we do in normal

conversation. The announcer adjusts and changes the phrase according to his own taste.

Shisa is another example of a word used differently by different announcers in different stations.

For Wentzel, *shisa* (burn) is meaningful as it is, whereas for Bhongco of Radio Xhosa, it gets developed to *shisa Lazozo* (burn Mr Lazozo) which has an addition to the verb phrase. Sethosa of Radio Lebowa developed *shisa* by adding it to his style *Zizi-Rethea* which became *Zizi-Rethea shisa* meaning play music Mr Zizi-Rethea. Sambo of Radio Swazi also does the same syntactic style of adding: *ngitsi labo shisa*. Finally, Thuso Motaung of Radio SeSotho adds *shisa* on his popular style *shapela fatshe* (get down to the lower gear) and came up with *shisa, shapela fatshe*.

In all these examples, the focus is on *shisa*. *Shisa* gets placed, syntactically in different slots. It is either get preceded by the noun phrase (NP) or succeeded by it. The whole emphasis here lies on syntax which we assume includes meaning. Normally, the change of the syntactic

structure of a sentence or clause, normally affects the intended meaning of the sentence.

Chomsky, in his work entitled '*Syntactic Structures*' (1957) concludes:

Nevertheless, we do find many important correlations, quite naturally, between syntactic structure and meaning; or to put it differently, we find that the grammatical devices are used quite systematically.

In our analysis of these stylistic creations in chapter 4, we did realize semantic structures and syntactic structures working with and against one another in a fairly predictable way.

Such play with words in a phrase shows a singer's talent, from 'his having been able to grasp all the richness of his tradition' (Peabody 1975).

Ayobayo has been used by many services by different announcers. The way they use this expression is totally different from one announcer to another. Normally, the expression is used either when introducing the programme (e.g. Mahlangu of Radio Ndebele who says '*Ayoba, ayoba,*

ayobayo'), or when introducing the song and in the middle of the song, for example, Thuso Motaung of Radio SeSotho with his

Ayobayo, ayobayo
O tla utsiba Twang?

Ayobayo, ayobayo
 How will you know me?

The *ayobayo* expression is a little different from the other two previous styles, in that no announcer can claim ownership over it. But Mahlangu, seemingly, is the first one who picked *ayobayo* up and used it. Or, it is either Thuso or Mahlangu who took *ayobayo* from the original creator, Lucky Dube.

The last two expressions which are also heard in many stations are:

Dankie gazi (Thanks my cousin)
Oh ye!

Dankie gazi (in Radio Setwana is used by Aubrey Motlaung as *Dankie khazi*) is originally from an artist, *Senyaka*. *Senyaka*, who recorded under Eric Fisch Productions, recorded a song with a rap having this phrase as part of the lyrics.

The expression was firstly adopted by Radio SeSotho announcers when broadcasting soccer, namely Mokotjo, Kagiso Sekge and Mochochoko. Later, the expression was spread to Radio Setswana and used by Motlaung when thanking his colleagues after either reading the news or taking over the next programme.

Thokozane Nene, of Radio Zulu, and Cyril 'Kansas City' Mchunu both adopted the same expression and used it in their programmes.

Other announcers have taken styles, not from within the ethnic radio stations, but from other white stations. Kansas City took David Davies' expressions and used them as his in his present broadcasting. When he start his highlife music shows, he says:

This is Kansas City, your man

sometimes adding:

The one and only.

Further, he also states the phrase from *Midnight Caller*:

Hello America

but changes it to:

Hello South Africa.

To Kansas, this expression is more of a greeting, a praising or a salute for his country South Africa, which he says as if he is addressing the whole crowd standing in front of him.

No announcer from the other ethnic stations has ever used these two phrases. The reason might be that other announcers are not so fond of using English.

This is a clear indication that these expressions have effects on individuals within one radio station and the expression can start within one radio station and spread to another. In this process there seems to be no change in the expression except the syntactic process of either adding some units before or after the main phrase or just deleting and adding the new unit altogether.

Such syntactic changes in announcers' artistic expressions prove announcers not to be imitators but re-creators and to 'never repeat a song exactly' as it was (Lord 1960).

In short, even though announcers are affected by these styles, the changes fall into clear categories of which the following emerge:

- (i) saying the same thing
- (ii) expansion of ornamentation,
for example *Lahla, lahla, lahl' umlenze*
Throw, throw, throw your leg
- (iii) changes of order in sequence
- (iv) addition of material not in a given original phrase
- (v) omission of material
- (vi) substitution of one unit for another

In a variety of ways, a style in the present black broadcasting tradition is separate, yet inseparable from other styles of broadcasting.

5.3. Conclusion

We have attempted to show how powerful and respectful the voice and words of an announcer are over the radio.

Announcers, through the conversational styles which are natural to them, can easily affect the whole listenership in the country. Their stylistic creations make them win brothers and sisters, friends and enemies. People and properties get named after their stylistic creations.

An attempt has also been made to show that these styles have also had effects, not only on the outside world, but also within the broadcasting community, which results in confusion as to the real origin of the expression. Once the same expression is used by announcers in different stations, it becomes difficult to know the original creator of that particular expression.

But on that issue, the crux of the matter can be explained by Lord when he says:

Singers deny that they are the creators of the song. They learned it from other singers. We know now that both are right, each according to his meaning of 'song'. To attempt to find the first singer of a song is as futile as to try to discover the first singing. And yet, just as the first singing could not be called the 'original', so the first man to sing a song cannot be considered its 'author', because of the peculiar relationship, already discussed, between his singing and all subsequent singings. From that point of view a song has no 'author' but a multiplicity of 'authors'. This is, however, a very

different concept of multiple authorship from that, or more properly those, in general use among Homerists.

(Lord 1960:102)

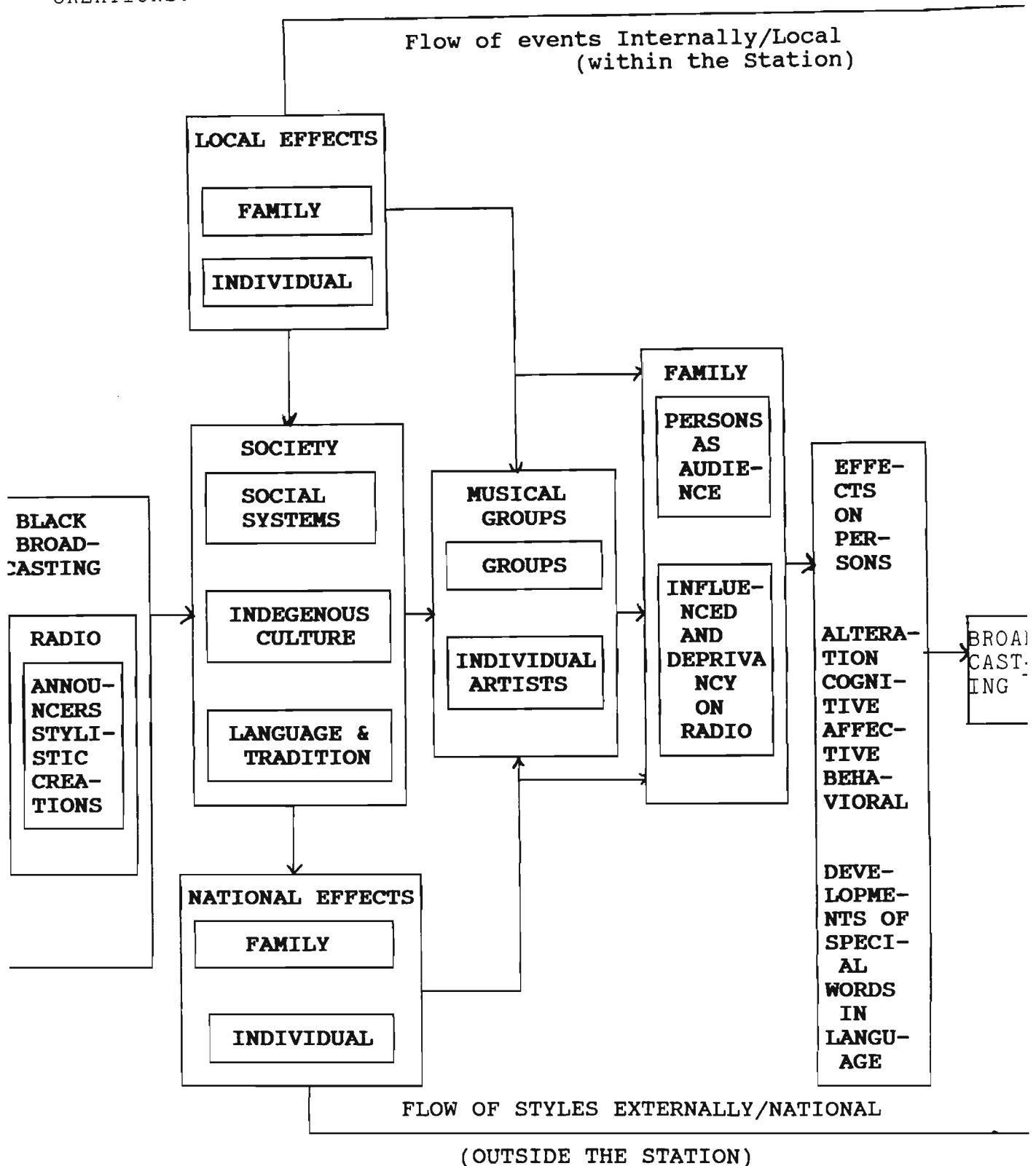
Lord's statement is highly acceptable as far as our analysis has shown. In those styles where it is difficult to ascertain its 'author', there is no value to starting researching into its origin. What is basically important is the existence and the importance of the style itself.

But, on the whole, styles prove to be a communication involving three parties, namely community, musical artists/bands and the announcer.

Black radio announcers, through their stylistic creations, can create solidarity and bring members of society together by their 'collective consciousness' (Lord 1960). The effect of those styles creates common situations of participants in relation to each other or to the external environment. This alone is another way of showing that communication has effects on human society.

All the effects of announcers' stylistic creations are summarised in an integrated framework below.

INTERGRATED FRAMEWORK OF THE EFFECTS OF BLACK ANNOUNCERS STYLISTIC CREATIONS.



NOTE: This framework is based on De Fleur et al (1982) integrated model on Mass Media effects on individuals. This framework has been designed especially for "radio" effects rather than "Mass Media" as a whole.

CHAPTER SIX

6.1. CONCLUSION

In examining the use of a word in broadcasting, from the orality-literacy perspective, different dimensions of communication and language have been treated. Though there were special hypotheses to be tested (vide 1.1.), found it necessary to examine other communication aspects so as to clarify our aim.

Our intention was to determine whether black radio announcers are still broadcasting under the same old tradition of Izibongo or whether they have shifted to the new tradition of writing which might adopt the white or BBC's style. This study will be new in the sense that nobody has hitherto examined radio, from the perspective of orality in particular at the expressions by announcers.

It became clear that

1. In the use of a word, either orally or written in the process of broadcasting, old announcers or DJs aged from 40 upwards, are less daring with innovations, and announcers or DJs aged between 25 and 40, are more keen to innovate by new broadcasting styles.
2. Radio affects people intimately, person-to-person, offering a world of unreciprocated communication between writer and the listener.
3. Since there is an evolution from primary orality, through writing and print, to an electronic culture, which produces secondary orality (including radio, TV, telephone and computers), it was important to establish if radios electronic verbalisation was destructive to man's psyche or not.

Colloquial style also contributes to the synthesis of orality and literacy in radio broadcast. Orality studies provide understanding of cultural uniqueness, while allowing the analysis of cultural differences in a controllable manner (Botha 1991). We wanted to show that radio, as a medium, is not a means of transmission, or vehicle through which symbols or gestures were exchanged. Botha in his study once commented that

One's motive for participating in orality research is the need to understand and to enhance meaningful communication, especially significant cross-cultural communication.

(Botha 1991:4)

Therefore, in this study, in order to achieve all our objectives, we took orality as an enabling factor

(Finnegan 1988:159), created by, and producer of, a very complicated situation; we focussed on how communication technology aids one in analyzing societies (as we did) with interesting possibilities for visualizing continuities, change and uniqueness. Orality-literacy studies can be seen as knots tying together a myriad of interests and research strategies (Both 1991:4)

By looking at a word, whether spoken, written or written-spoken, our study was inevitably focussed on language and communication. Since language is culture and vice versa (Whitehead 1990, Edwards 1985, Sapir 1921), the study even looked at culture and society. Obviously some dimensions of language were more emphasized than others. That is because

Verbalization in the context of orality, cannot be an object in itself, the sheer ephemerality of speech prohibits this. Communicating in an orally determined context must always be close to the human life-world, in which words exist as vocalization, as happenings.

(Botha 1991:5)

Therefore, different dimensions of language were more emphasized. There were syntactic, morphological and semantic elements in the study. The phonological aspect

was a great help in analysing aspects like 'sounds', namely alliteration and assonance. It clarified certain aspects which were very important in the pronunciation and manipulation of a word artistically/poetically in Nguni/Sotho languages, which may not work for European languages.

In view of the difficulties of maintaining focus on a word as being orally used in the electronic era by radio, we had to bear in mind what Botha (1991) cited that, in oral communication

1. Orality, as a cultural, anthropological concept, does not refer to spoken discourse as such. Spoken discourse is part of almost every imaginable facet of being human, and transcends mentalities and cultures as a phenomenon.
2. Orality, as a condition, exists by virtue of communication that is not dependent on modern media processes and techniques. It is negatively formed by the lack of technology and positively created by specific forms of education and cultural activities.
3. Orality refers to a comprehensive experience of symbols in the habitat of sound. Orality fundamentally shapes cultural factions such as storage and transmission of knowledge.

In our analysis of the announcers' stylistic creations, it emerged that orality encourages 'a sense of continuity with life, a sense of participation, because it is itself participatory' (Ong 1977; Anyidoho 1983).

However, before commenting on what exactly was proved by this study, it may be wise to comment on three phenomena that seem to be important in this investigation, in the study of stylistic creation, namely; possible acculturation in broadcasting, stylistic creations and the future of broadcasting and broadcasting perspective.

6.1.1. Possible acculturation in broadcasting

Sue Valentine (1990:10) in her Long road to media freedom once mentioned that 'we have seen the future and its radio'.

Valentine cited such statements because of her concern about the future and possible acculturation that radio might cause in South Africa. Talking about the role of radio in an old and new South Africa, one must consider certain possibilities.

1. The high rate of illiteracy in South Africa is the main reason that ethnic services will remain comparatively unhampered.
2. New developments, modernization and more aspirations than in the rural areas, will result in possible acculturation, where listeners may demand more variety, options of radio stations and programming.

Radio has become the basic, easiest and most handy communicative medium for black people. Grierson, stressing the opportunity for education in radio, said 'what better way to communicate with people who don't read than via radio' (Grierson 1990:15).

As some studies (Raubenheimer 1990) have shown, of South Africa's total population, one in four is illiterate and only about two in ten can read a newspaper - the only medium which shows some signs of reaching the majority of South Africans is radio.

Raubenheimer asserted that the SABC's black language service is the only medium that reaches rural population. As 80% of black listeners prefer programmes in their own languages, this shows that announcers, with their stylistic creations, can cause people to become more acculturized. The announcer's usage of old traditional styles might create some awareness of the lost tradition in the listeners, or the usage of English and ethnic language could make the SABC think of establishing new

stations that might broadcast in both English and ethnic language.

The announcers' expressions could make programmes more listenable, which could cause the process of acculturation to move faster, leading black listeners can be from passivity to a dynamic mode of existence.

The announcers' stylistic creations could promote the present culture or create a totally new culture. Since they are language users and communicators on radios, they could emphasize the fact that communication is the energizer of culture. Community, as a collective identity, has existence and meaning in communication.

Radio, in the new broadcasting sphere, has created a fear that some cultures as we know them are being replaced with one homogeneous mega-culture.

Language is the most basic important aspect in the society (Dervin and Clark 1989). And acts of communication which involve language usage, are embodied in culture. Announcers' stylistic creations may create

new language, or force new words into the language. More English usage on air has influenced both urban and rural people in recent years. On the other hand stations like Radio Venda and Radio Lebowa, which are still traditional tend to remain conservative whilst their listeners are becoming more modern in their taste. They may be retarding the modernization of their listeners.

In short, 'communication and culture are then products of each other. Communication creates culture. Culture is a means of communication. Language carries culture, and culture carries, particularly through orature and literature, the entire body of values by which we come to perceive ourselves and our place in the world' (Ngugi 1986:15).

Strydom in Tomaselli et al discussing acculturation said:

The Bantu child is, in accordance with Bantu culture, satisfied with what 'is' and he must be led by the traditional Bantu adult to arrive at 'what should be', according to the western norms. The Bantu adult ... is satisfied with what he has and is not really worried about what should be.

(Strydom in Tomaselli et al
1989:98)

Socio-political trends have altered since the time when Strydom wrote these words. Looking at the present environment in macro-perspective, we see the following trends:

1. Political groups are striving to increase their power base, including a desire to have say in the media, especially radio
2. As a result of the generation gap between the youth and the older generation, the youth have a greater desire to participate in radio programmes, the motivation here being both political and non-political.
3. Urbanisation exerts more influence on ethnic ties and language priority. Youth is moving towards the use of English.
4. Listeners demand far more variety/options of radio stations and programming. Audiences are found to be unsophisticated due to the lack of options.
5. And lastly, there is more interest shown in new white than black radio stations.

Announcers' stylistic creations can be approached at two levels when dealing with acculturation; firstly, the restoration of the old tradition, and, secondly, the movement from the 'introvert' tradition to the 'extrovert' tradition where these trends will merge.

Ethnic services are presently copying Radio Metro in their presentation as well as in their arrangement of

programmes. English usage in ethnic services, especially the popular ones, namely Radio Zulu, Radio Xhosa and Radio SeSotho are the main services that are worried about language usage in their programmes. Radio Zulu moved away from programme blockings to announcer blockings, which is Radio Metro and Radio 5's format.

Stylistic creations of announcers like Radio Zulu's Kansas City Mchunu, for example 'You got to come in your way, babe, 'The one and only, your man' and 'Radio Zulu, you are the best' and of Mkhize VVO, namely 'The boogie funkier man' and 'The boy from Kwa-Maskhiyane', of Radio Xhosa's Bongco Z, for example 'The sweetest taboo' and 'Mr quiet storm' and of Makaza Vuyani, namely 'What do you want in front of the mirror?', are examples of humans using language that reflects ethnic traditional culture as opposed to the modern culture of literacy.

As every type of programme has its own particular formulaic style, listeners too, are most likely being influenced and become acculturated.

The radio through the black announcers' stylistic creation proves to be very important instruments of socialization in the family, home, school (Ansah 1989). Some styles have helped to restore the lost rhymes of the tradition.

Mahlangu's stylistic creations in his youth programmes made people aware of the importance of lullabies (*imilolozolo*) in the present era which was nearly lost. It brought back that old joy between the child and the mother which was lost because of literacy. That people are becoming more urbanized does not mean the end of their tradition. Rather than finding the 'Bantu child' (as Strydom cited) 'moving closer to the effort expected of a fully fledged adult, according to western norms', Mahlangu reverses and rather mixes both the western and his traditional norms.

The expressions of Radio Xhosa's Kaso, '*Uyandibiza Makasi?*' (Are you calling me Makazi?), '*Andifuni lonto*' (I don't want that), '*Lomtana*' (This child), create new acculturation of leading the 'Bantu child' (Strydom in

Tomaselli et al 1989) away from passivity and become active and participate in the process of socialization.

As radio 'act[s] as a centralizing or unifying force or a decentralizing and fragmenting one' (McQuail 1984), seemingly the announcers' stylistic creation will necessitate the creation of new stations that will cope with the developing process of the acculturation of the audience and the accommodation of the new culture. In fact

We live in a world that revolves around a small number of centres of transactional power, characterized by a concentration of economic and political power that uses culture as a means of penetrating and domesticating the peripheral sector subject to domination by the centre.

(Uranga 1985:74)

What we presently experience is that radio, through its announcers' words (either artistic or poetic), has created many socio-cultural systems. This means that, in the present era, especially in South Africa, a person can have multiple cultural personalities, that is either that of the Western-educated person or the urbanised African who still has his roots in the traditional *milieu*, who

recognises his social obligations under the traditional extended family system (Ansah 1989).

Radio Metro, the so-called 'black up-market listeners' station' was opened solely on these grounds. Since then, it has influenced other ethnic services whose announcers have started using English ways of presentation in their broadcasting.

From announcers' stylistic creations, results both a blending of the traditional and the modern and a certain bi-polarisation of the society in socio-cultural terms.

Using Ansah's terminology - through radio South Africa is faced with 'cultural invasion', 'cultural imperialism', 'transculturalisation', 'cultural homogenization' or 'cultural synchronization'.

Announcers' stylistic creations will undermine some listeners' cultural values by confronting them with an image of reality that is alien and unattainable, but presented as the ideal (Ansah 1989).

Most ethnic stations are showing a big move towards the use of English in their broadcasting. There is the possibility of a new listenership that will need a station that will broadcast in both English and black indigenous language.

Since black announcers' word usage in their broadcasting is either the mixing of English and ethnic language or ethnic language alone, this 'acculturation' or 'cultural synchronization' can be viewed in two serious levels namely:

1. The massive intrusion of exogenous cultural forms and values into a society will, in the long run, profoundly undermine the very basis of that society in terms of social relations, artistic creativity and development patterns.
2. In this whole realization, these cultural forms will make some stations remain static. Listeners won't understand and know all the styles used by ethnic services.

What one might expect to witness is both a blending of the traditional and the modern and a certain bi-polarization of society in socio-cultural terms (Ansah 1989).

As broadcasting is still developing in South Africa (since there was deregulation in broadcasting and then re-regulation) and since black announcers are innovative, and their innovations are not easily predictable, more attention needs to be paid to

1. How to combine the use of traditional modes of communication with modern mass media in an integrated system for more effective use ...
2. The development of the new station with private interests, where there is flexibility of language usage, and where community will be involved.

To achieve what is being said above, SABC is presently trying to determine the viability of Black City Radio, that is a City Radio Zulu and City Radio Xhosa. This is because of urbanisation.

In the present era, to show that radio through its announcers 'words' will introduce a new acculturation, an extract from Buck serves as an explanation:

... the new technologies of communication have brought new ideas, new lifestyles, and new forms of culture on the scene faster than most cultures can assimilate them. Societies, large or small, no longer have the time to selectively use and integrate new ideas and images.

(Buck 1987:12)

The 'City Radio' will help in catering for people of the 'elite class' as against ordinary people who are still listening to ethnic services. The process of cultural synchronisation will be facilitated by, Radio by satellite development, RDS introduction, FM stereo still favourable/digital satellite radio, Availability of telephonics influences programmes and High penetration of radio sets

Voice, will be needed more than ever before, where 'a sense of presence and the present' (Ong 1967) will be more emphasized.

A new acculturation through announcers' innovations is imminent in broadcasting and to individuals since

The present orality is post-typographical, incorporating an individualized self-consciousness developed with the aid of writing and print and possessed of more reflectiveness, historical sense, and organized purposefulness than was possible in preliterate oral cultures.

(Ong 1967:301-2)

If then it is so that the introduction of broadcasting and other mass media is a form of modernization (which is

part of acculturation) which standardizes culture and takes it to a global level, what then is the future of broadcasting and these black announcers' stylistic creations?

6.1.2. Stylistic Creations and the Future of Broadcasting
Katz and Wedell in Ansah (1989) have concluded from their studies that

... entertainment is not neutral but an active force in the communication of values.

Announcers working in radio for entertainment, do not only play music just to make people happy and laugh, but their words, too, become framed in such a way that people find themselves enjoying the artistic nature of the expression. These stylistic creations seem to have a certain direction to which they lead the ethos of each station.

If radio announcers or, as Hyde (1983) calls them, 'electronic bards', can be compared to bards in preliterate society, one can realise that there is a great difference. Preliterate bards were, or are still,

maintaining the tradition or culture without bringing in many foreign elements as innovations (Peabody 1975) whereas electronic bards push more foreign elements as innovations in the tradition or culture, but without destroying the structure of words and the poetic effects normally brought by sounds of that language.

Black announcer's stylistic creations might result in two levels of confusion in further development of any radio broadcasting in both the present and future South Africa:

Firstly, with regard to the establishment of new stations, announcers innovations are; composed of praises, totemic, genealogies, which is here viewed as 'deep traditional' and composed either of ethnic language mixing or English and Afrikaans word/phrase usage.

In such a case, the first question might be what language must that station use in its broadcasting? Secondly, must the station broadcast only in English since people are getting more urbanised and more English usage is heard from the community?

Radio Metro, broadcasting in English, has only one announcer who has stylistic creations, whereas ethnic services with announcers broadcasting in their own language have more stylistic creations enriched with all the ornamentation that can be found in that indigenous language.

Announcers like Nzimande , Mnisi and Nene of Radio Zulu, Kaso and Bacela of Radio Xhosa, Motaung of Radio SeSotho, Motlaung and Sethosa of Radio Tswana and all announcers of Venda and Tsonga, to mention a few, are the announcers who are still purely traditional in their innovations.

Other announcers, namely Kansas Mchunu of Radio Zulu and others who are English users, might influence the newcomers intentions in the field of radio broadcasting.

Taking into consideration the total market perspective, there are opportunities that are there for the establishment of new stations. Several things would favour such a development.

1. Three out of four South Africans cannot read
2. Relatively inexpensive radio sets can be powered by batteries in the many areas which have no access to utilities
3. The vast distance between townships causes the dissemination of print materials as a vehicle for communication to be inordinately difficult
4. Radio already enjoys vast audiences in SA - 14 million listeners daily - as compared with half that number watching television and one-seventh reading newspapers.

These facts might be achieved by looking at the present socio-political trends (as we outlined them above) where the audience ought to be satisfied.

Our research proved that announcers with more stylistic creations or innovations are more popular than those who are not, or are less, innovative. Therefore, it will be easy for them to pave and open the market for themselves.

For Hyde (1983:21), it is on the basis of the announcers' performing ability (language usage, which, in this case, is stylistic creations) that they are judged by the audience and employer alike. What is basically important is

[t]he ability to select the most effective and fresh words and arrange them well [which] is the art of an effective manner of announcing.

(Hyde 1983:19)

Announcers in the new re-regulated broadcasting, who are more keen to innovate new broadcasting styles, will have more opportunities, whereas those who are less daring on innovations might be used only for documentary or formal programmes.

Black announcers' word usage on radio has brought in the broadest sense a new kind of consciousness about the relationship of communication on radio and the future developments in broadcasting.

The SABC's editor-in-chief of news management, Louis Raubenheimer (1990), confirmed that independent research had shown that 80% of black listeners preferred programmes in their own language.

Frederickse and Pinnock, in their supplement to the *Weekly Mail*, 30 May to 6 June 1991, also confirmed that

The new South African radio can and must embrace a number of accents and languages, ranging from Zulu to

tsotsitaal. That deep male 'professional' voice will give way to the different tones of women, the elderly and children.

The black announcers stylistic creations will help through radio in the discovering of South Africans' lost skills of listening. Frederickse and Pinnock (1991) argued that the oral tradition is supposed to be the hallmark of this continent.

Language mixing can easily result in multiracial, multilingual and multi-ethnic media. In Southern Africa, because of the population composition in terms of language and cultural communities, traditions and differences should not be ignored, but, at the same time, we must recognize that change is endemic to humanity, and we must tap into that.

Maybe one might consider the fact that black announcers, by creating stylistic creations which are either traditional or multilingual, operate under the pressure they have from what they see from the outside world. In the whole listenership, there is an older, more conservative rural group of listeners who want - and

perhaps even need - ethnic services to be purely vernacular. Whereas on the other side, there is a younger, more sophisticated groups of listeners who are not concerned about the 'Zuluness' or 'Sothoness' of something. They are only interested in quality and better entertainment. Maybe that is what has made announcers like Kansas City of Radio Zulu, Thuso Motaung of Radio SeSotho, Zola Kaso of Radio Xhosa and Mahlangu of Radio Ndebele arguably the most acclaimed announcers at the SABC's ethnic-based radio stations.

They are like turbo-charged rappers, always starting off their highlife music shows with words or phrases that will try to meet this sophisticated group of listeners.

Mphahlele, new head of the then TV2/3/4, once commented that 'one way of achieving this balance is to find common contemporary values that transcend cultural differences' (Mphahlele in *Daily News* 1991:10).

Language seems to be the most directive yardstick in the future of broadcasting. Tomaselli commented that

In the present period of crisis in South Africa, it is of the utmost importance for South Africa's historical understanding that language, media and communication be analysed from the perspective of the social, economic, and political relationships that are fabric of our society.

(Tomaselli 1987:62)

Because of further changes still expected and more young people so keen to enter professional announcing, one may expect more stylistic creations to be produced that will more effectively cater for this sophisticated group of listeners.

What we also realized during the analysis of our stylistic creations was that not only was there a mixture of English with the vernacular language, but also there was a mixture of, for instance, Sotho Zulu or Zulu Sotho.

Motlaung's (of Radio Setswana) *Dankie Khazi* is one of such example, Also, the stylistic creation of Mahlangu of Radio Ndebele, *punka punka batho*, is another interesting example.

Firstly, *khazi* does not belong to the Tswana language but is from the Zulu word *gazi*, meaning 'cousin'. Secondly,

batho is a Sotho word meaning 'human beings' and doesn't belong to Ndebele or any Nguni language, that is Zulu, Xhosa, Swazi or Ndebele.

Such ethnic word spill-overs might cause future stations to emphasize no longer the ethnic **differences**, but the **commonalities** within the population. The spread of one style from a certain station to another, e.g. the popular *shisa* (burn), *lahl' umlenze* (throw your leg), *O ketsang?* (what are you doing?) and *ayobayo*, to mention a few, are good signs of this to the communication sector, namely broadcasting.

Frederickse and Pinnock (1991) commented that illiteracy is the major block to mass communication in South Africa. Print and television lag a long way behind radio as the best means of reaching communities. Because of illiteracy, the creation of a culture of community radio in South Africa will be very important.

The richness of ethnic language and the black announcers broadcasting styles ought not to be disturbed. These

styles have shown that 'announcing' is not at all like normal conversation.

This has been supported by the fact that, when broadcasting, unlike when writing, an announcer has a chance to use either crowded, live or empty words, but nevertheless convey the meaning because of the context and the frequency with which its used on radio. The stylistic creations of Mahlangu of Radio Ndebele, Sefara of Radio Lebowa (e.g. *Mafarafara*, *Mafarazozo*) and Kaso of Radio Xhosa, are good examples of these types of words.

Because of the traditional poetic effects found in ethnic languages, these styles develop to be the habits of speech and thought associated with an oral culture existing along context-independent environment. Because of their sound flexibility, they prove to be ideally usable, interchangeably as situational demands require.

The traditional richness of these languages have clearly come out in the form and structure of these stylistic creations. It was agreed that imagery is the cornerstone of these stylistic creations, which is manifest in

simile, metaphors, personification, symbolism and hyperbole.

We realised that these various imageries are achieved through various grammatical constructions. Most of these imageries are picked up from the tradition surrounding them and the background plays the great role in their construction.

An attempt was made to analyse different forms that one might find in these styles. Much was said about different types of parallelism , linking and rhythm. Jousse's (1990) approach was used here to clearly see how related these stylistic creations are to the true oral tradition as it is found in pre-literate societies. The analysis of rhythm differed in that we believed that it only exists in performance and it comes as a result of tone and length, and the sound devices of speech as Nguni and Sotho languages are tonal languages.

Though there are announcers who were found to copy other announcers, the broadcasting tradition was found to remain the same.

It was noticed that the word in radio is more from the soil of the people themselves. The word in radio is something that happens, an event in the world of sound as Ong (1967) argued. It is a word that is spoken, not written speech, except in sermons, although even here, the preaching becomes more formulaic than the read verses of the scriptures themselves (cf. the sermon of Rev Mbatha of Radio Zulu). The word is more of a gesture, for example an empty word, where no matter how nonsensical it may be, listeners end up enjoying and using it.

The maintenance of praises, *izihasho*, *izithakazelo*, totemic names and genealogies, are the signs of showing the relationship of man to man, of man to society and his entire world, through the spoken word. The man of the electronic era seems now to seek, through the radio, to relate his past to his present.

Praises of some announcers have proved to be good examples, like those of Wentzel Mnisi and Nzimande Welcome of Radio Zulu and those of Nefalo Mpho of Radio

Venda and his colleague Ligudu. Their praises reveal 'how man relates in one way or another to the cosmos around him, psychologically as well as physically' (Ong 1977).

The most divided communities and ethnic differences, as we see them in South Africa, are manifested in the richness we discovered in these languages, through the announcers' styles. The announcers language wants to reach all these people

the rich and poor, urban and rural, housed and homeless, educated and illiterate, employed and unemployed, ... though the interests of these people do not necessarily coincide - indeed, they often conflict.

(Raubenheimer 1990:48)

The effects we discovered in our analysis of the effects of black announcers' stylistic creations worked on all these categories of people mentioned in Raubenheimer's statement. Radio's spoken word proved to be alive as Greene (1951) argued. Such effects move communication in radio to be face-to face as in oral cultures (Greenfield 1972). These styles have been easily taken by the listeners for their own use because the announcers tend

to say them as connectedly and casually as possible and they involve all sense of dramaticality (McLuhan 1964).

In the sermons which we analysed, it was clear that even if the verse read has no formulas, the preacher will automatically compose his preaching around that verse and formulise it (see sermons in the appendices). Also, as with announcers, not all preachers are good at formulating creations in their sermons. Therefore, in our research, we left out some of the sermons because they had no artistic formularisms in their compositions.

We must mention that there are a few of announcers who are above 40 and who are very innovative. This is sometimes because they are aware of new competitions in the market or of the young up-and-coming announcers. Maybe these young announcers always come as a power of inspiration to the older announcers.

Finally, it was observed that all oral techniques which are peculiar to the pre-literate tradition can be used

with great success in the composition of stylistic creations.

There is a type of cross-fertilization of orality among the stations. This gives a new energy to language.

What our thesis revealed is that black radio announcers are like

The traditional oral epic singer [who] is not an artist; he is a seer. The patterns of thought that he has inherited come into being to serve not art but religion in its most basic sense. His balances, his antithesis, his similes and metaphors, his repetitions, and his sometimes seemingly willful playing with words, with morphology and with phonology, were not intended to be devices and conventions of Parnassus, but were techniques for emphasis of the potent symbol. Art appropriated the forms of oral narrative. But it is from the dynamic, life principle in myth, the wonder-working tale, that art derived its force.

(Lord 1960:220-1)

6.1.3. Broadcasting Perspective

In this study we were not discussing broadcasting per se. The aim was to see how radio manipulates the "word". Further still, we studied how announcers manipulate the spoken word, not in writing at this time, but in an oral environment of a microphone. After all, we do

communicate in usual styles, but the radio communicates in poetic and formulaic styles.

The black announcer's stylistic creations, as they were realised in various grammatical and literal forms, showed that they are artistic deviations from normal speech; and the use of particular forms and grammatical constructions within a language, is or will be, the determining factor in the future of broadcasting in the new South Africa.

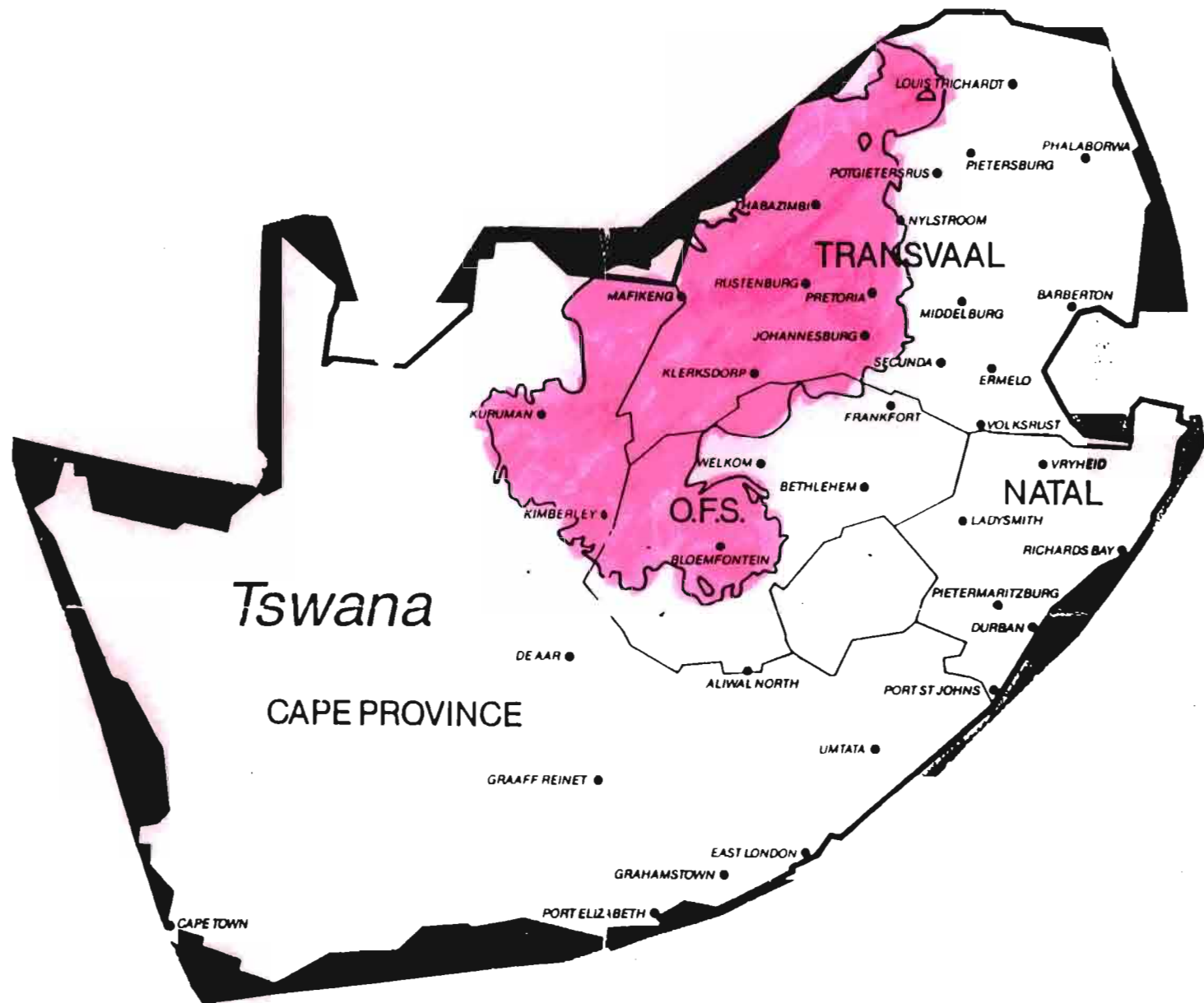
Radio is unlike other media forms. The best communication in radio need not be the use of faultless grammar or the selective use of English but the straight vernacular in order to bring back the lost tradition to which it belongs.

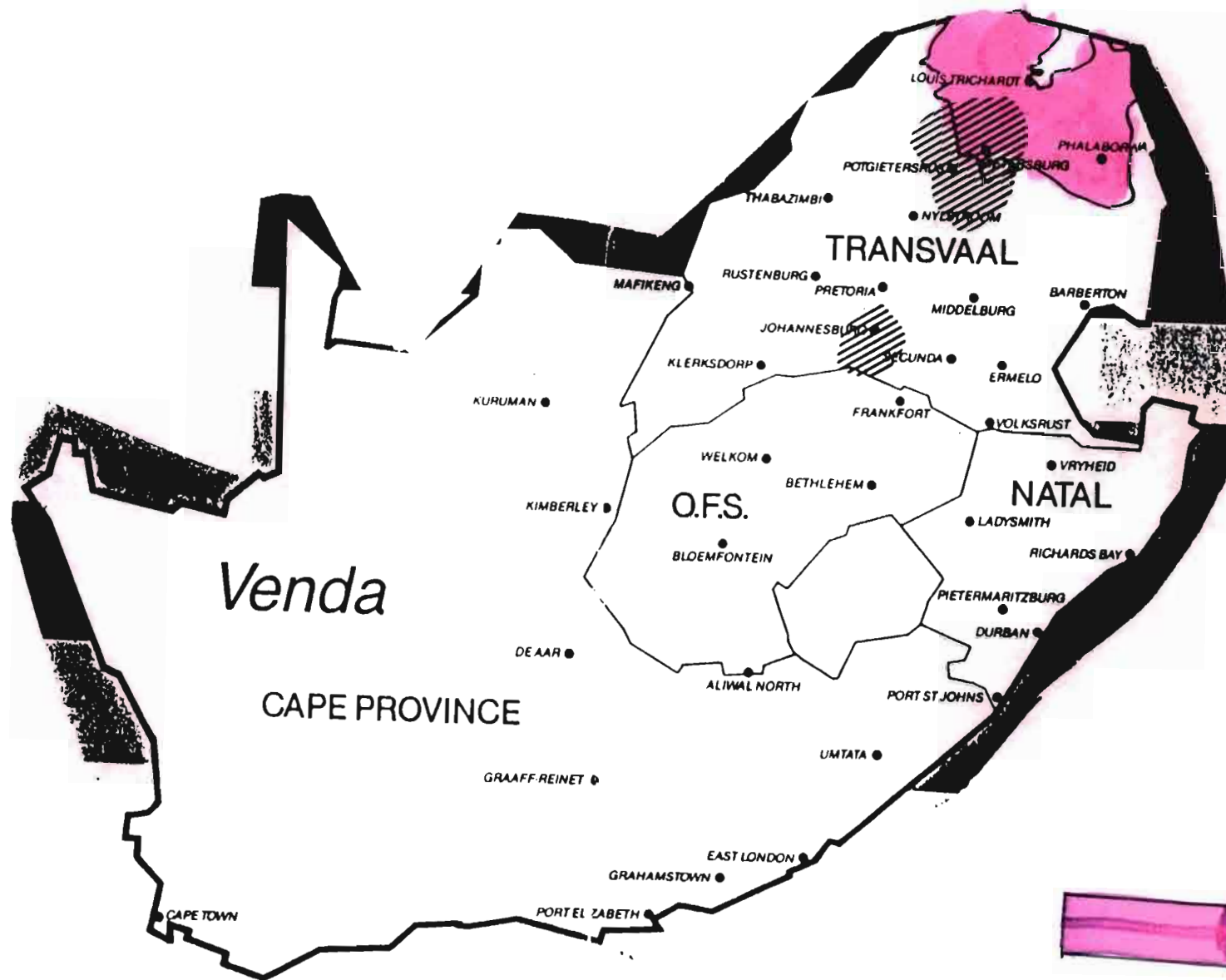
Looking at broadcasting in orality-literacy perspective showed us that, attitudes towards the past and the future may also be modified. Hence, in this regard, orality-literacy research was the vehicle to understand and to enhance meaningful communication through radio broadcasting.

APPENDIX A

MAPS



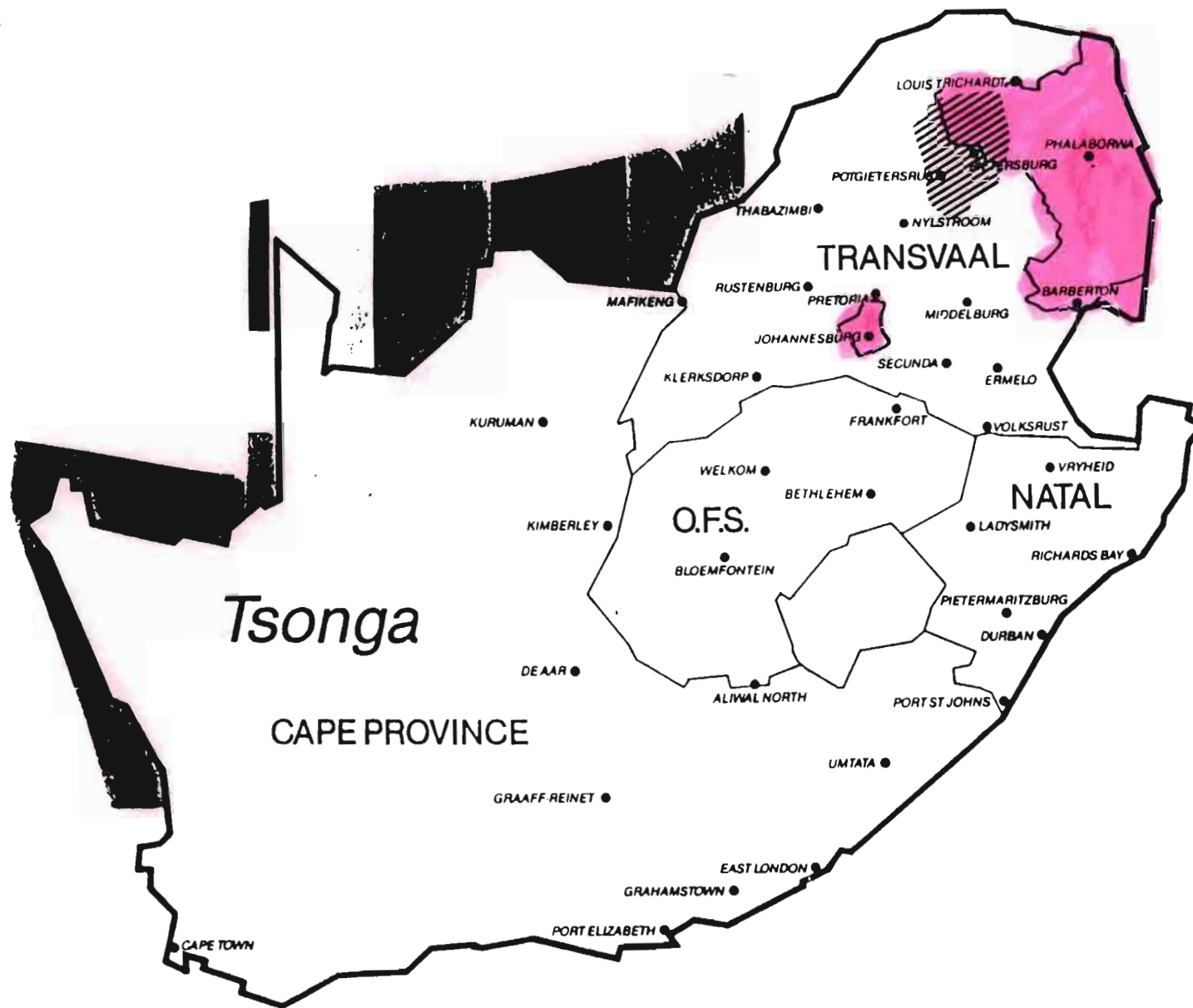




FM



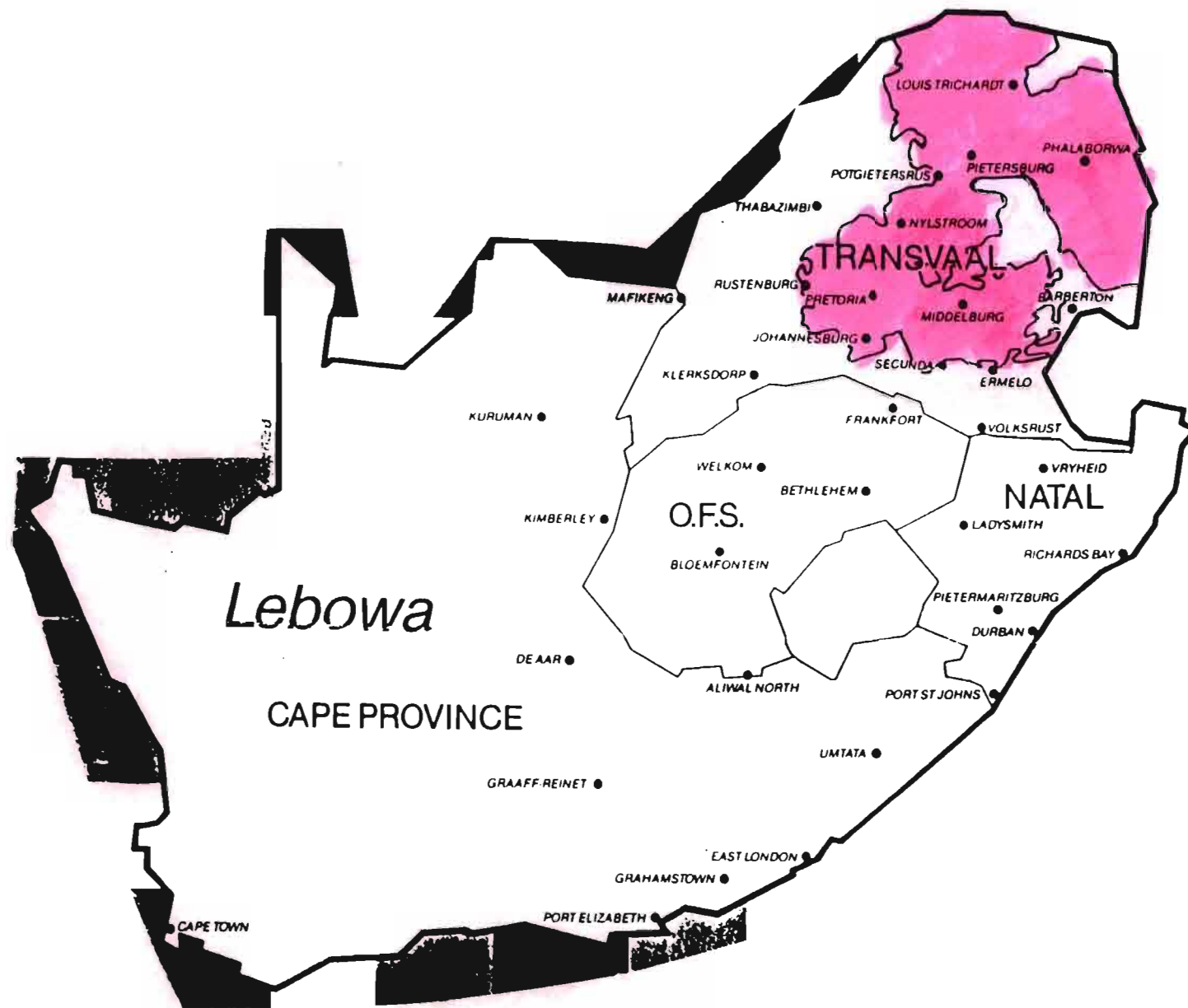
MW

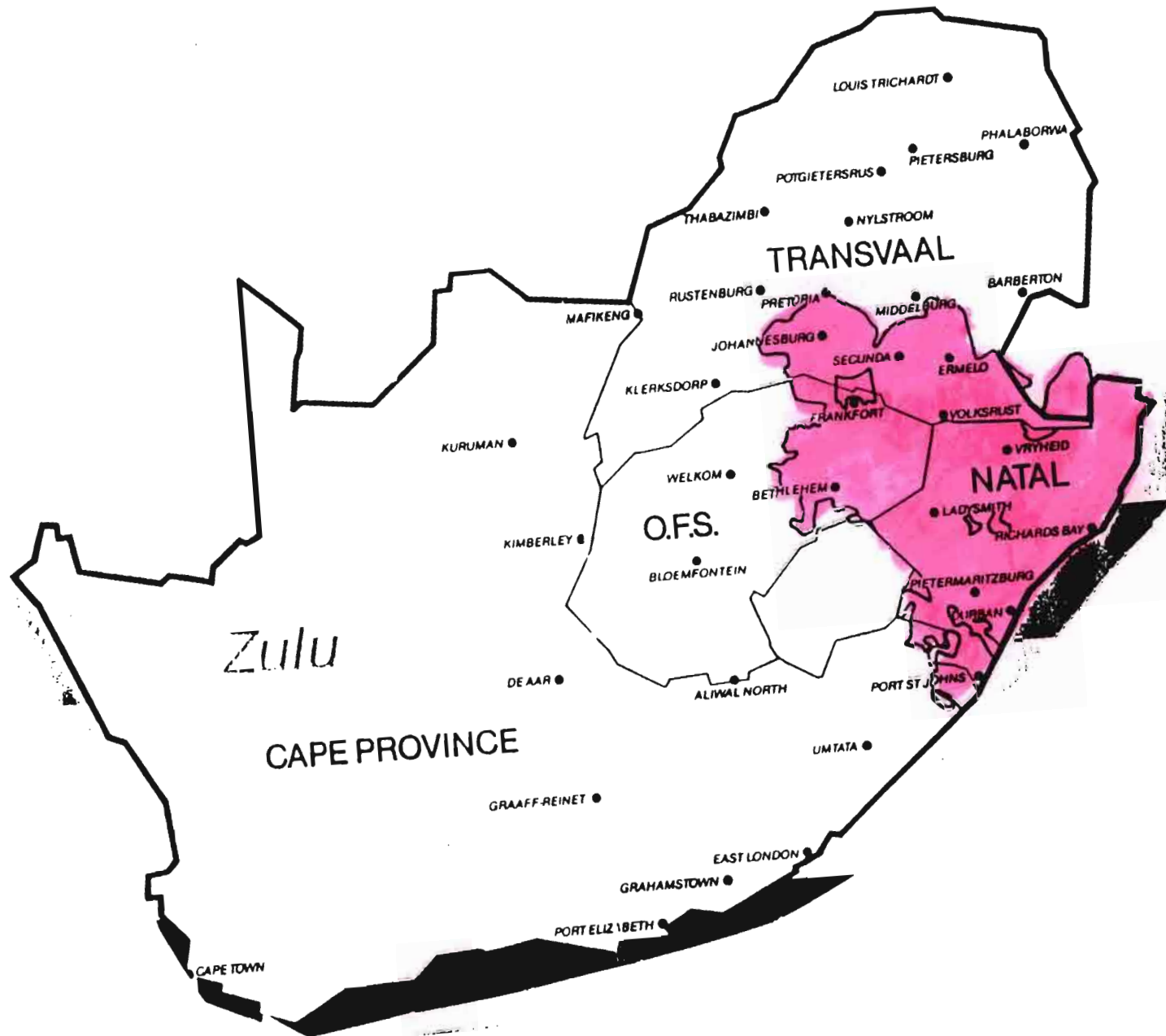


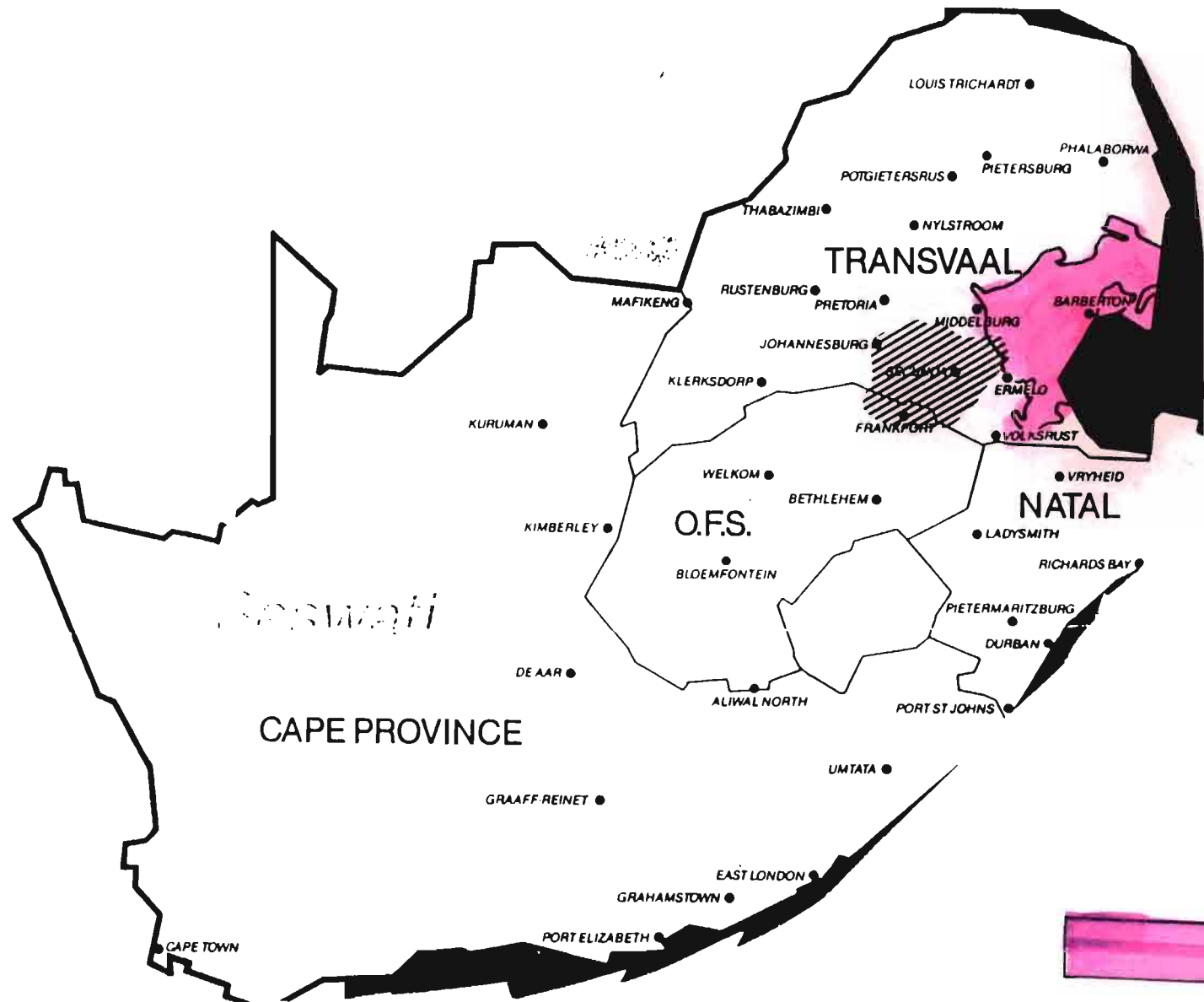
FM.

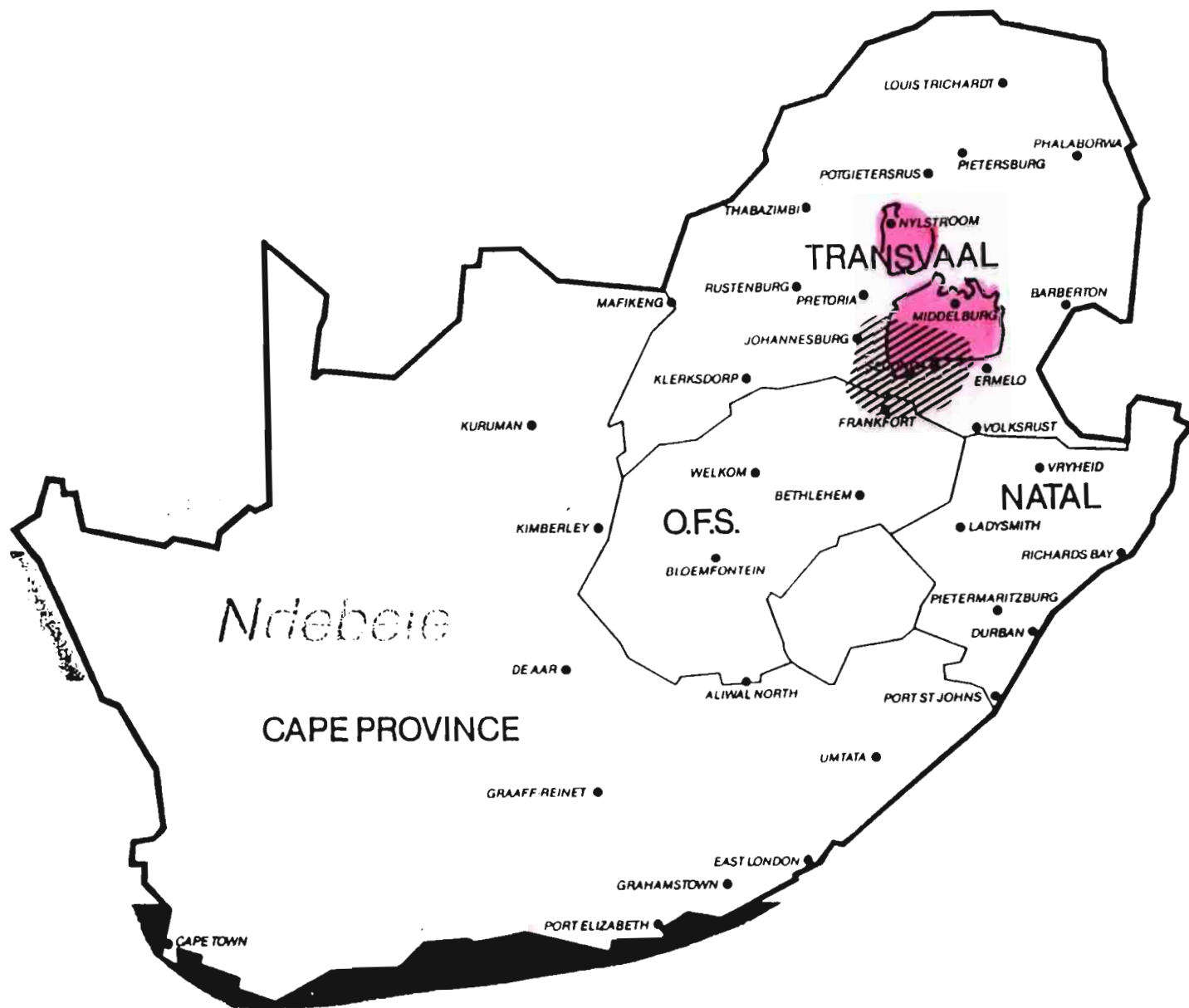


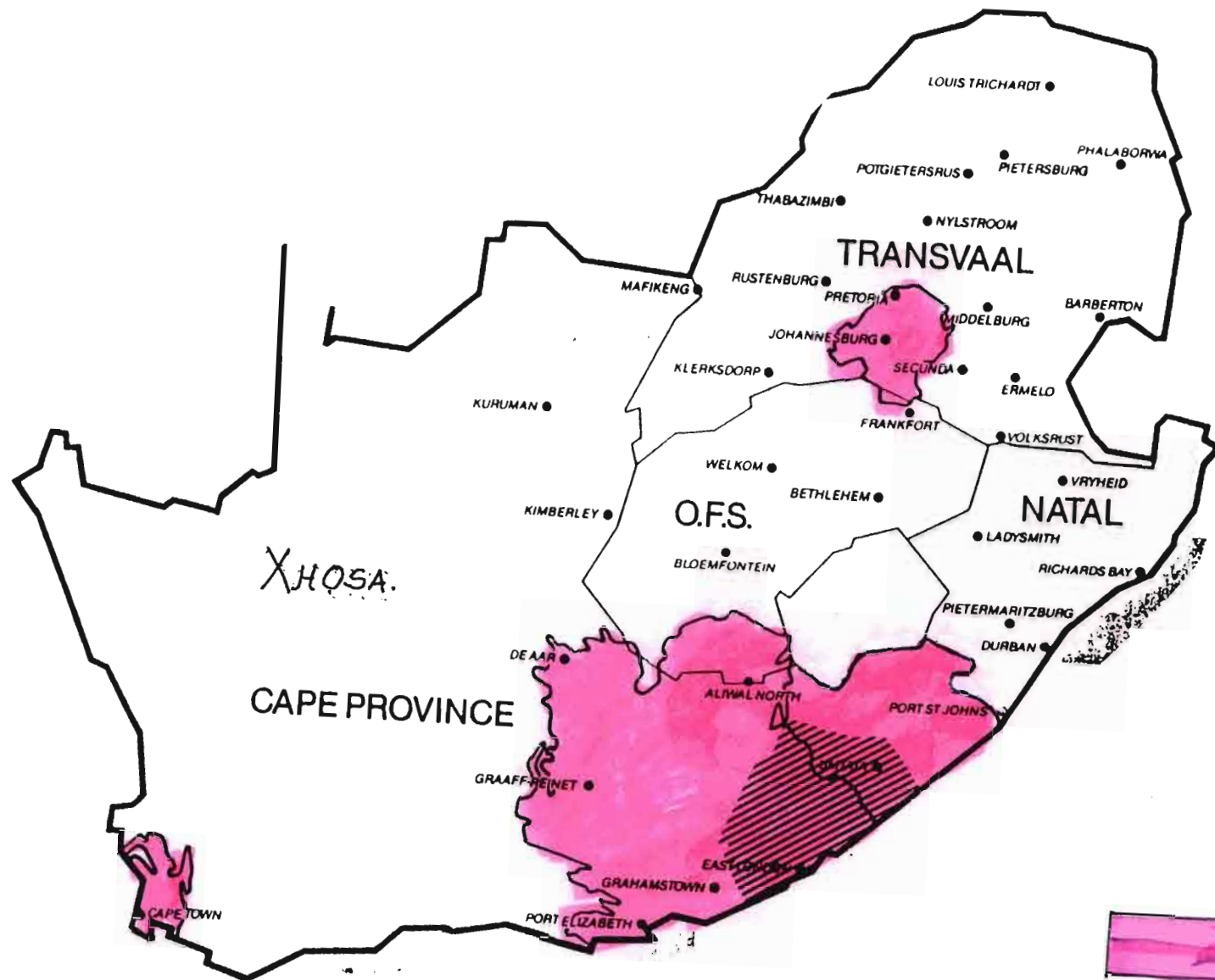
MW.











APPENDIX B

BLACK ANNOUNCERS' STYLISTIC CREATIONS

A. NGUNI SERVICES

RADIO ZULU

Radio Zulu Announcers' Stylistic Creations

1. Mchumu C B (46)

- (i) You got to come in your way babe
- (ii) The one and the only, your man
- (iii) Radio Zulu, you are the best
- (iv) Oh ye!
- (v) *Kulikhuni*
- (vi) Kansas City, I love you
- (vii) You just deserve the best, because you are
the best
- (viii) *Aw ye*
- (ix) I am your man, I love you
- (x) Hello South Africa

- (xi) Excuse me to you Kansas City (Jingle)
 (xii) Wherever you are - wherever you may be

Praises

Umfana omuhle

Omuhle kunabobonke

Abafana emhlabeni

Translation

The handsome boy

More handsome than all other boys

In the world

2. Nzimande W M (39)

- (i) *Mbrr*
 (ii) *Woza Nawe!*
 (iii) *Walibamb' umfana walinik' owangakubo*
 (iv) *Walishaya phakathi kahlen' bafana*
 (v) *Step bafana maan!*
 (vi) *Ngiyakubiza nje*
 (vii) *Shisa!*
 (viii) *Woza! ... Woza! ...*
 (ix) *Ngiyasabela ... Sabela*

(x) *Kahleni bafana!*

Translation

- (i) Mbrr
- (ii) And you too come!
- (iii) The boy took it and passed it on to his
mate
- (iv) He scored it - hold on boys
- (v) Step boys maan!
- (vi) I am calling you
- (vii) Burn!
- (viii) Come! ... Come! ...
- (ix) I am responding ... respond
- (x) Hold on boys!

Praises

Zibambe phela maghude ayeqana

Bhadloz' umuntu ngewisa kungabi ndabazalutho

Sikhum joj'ilanga

Enhla nasezansi kwelakithu

Wayithatha Ngulubana

Wayiphansa kuyena ushisa-nyama madada

Lena kwa Nyama-Kayiphela
Kyphe! amaziny' endoda
Woza nawe

Translation

Hold then up rooster's that compete for supremacy
 The one who beats up a person with a kerie with impurity
 Burning wood pierce the sun
 North and south in our part of the world
 You took it Piglet
 And you threw it to *Shisa-Nyama*
 In the land where meat suppliers are inexhaustable
 Only teeth are exhaustable

And you too come

3. Mnisi Wentzel Sjula (39)

- (i) *Pho indaba kaboni*
- (ii) *Shisa!*
- (iii) *Thatha lento!*
- (iv) *Lahla lento wena!*
- (v) *Lahl' umlenze!*

- (vi) *Ngiyakubiza nje*
- (vii) *Ngiyasabela nje*
- (viii) *Woza phela*
- (ix) *Ngeke!*
- (x) *Angikho*

Translation

- (i) *Ain't nobody's business*
- (ii) *Burn!*
- (iii) *Take this thing!*
- (iv) *Throw away this thing maan!*
- (v) *Throw your leg!*
- (vi) *I am calling you*
- (vii) *I am replying*
- (viii) *Please come*
- (ix) *Know*
- (x) *I am not there*

Praises

Sjula somkhonto

UMagwaz' eyikhuphula

UMedlula kabili kathathu

Okwendoda iya emsamo

Translation

The short shafted assegai
 The one which stabs and lifts up
 The passerby twice or thrice
 Like a man approaching the back part of the hut

4. Mkhize V V O (37)

- (i) Down in Durbs
- (ii) Boogie funky man
- (iii) The boy from Kwa-Mas'khiyane

5. Gasa T E (49)

- (i) *Heshe!*
- (ii) *Awu heshe!*
- (iii) *Kwangiphinda lokho*
- (iv) T G

Translation

- (i) There you are!
- (ii) Oh there you are!
- (iii) Oh now it happens again

6. Nene Thokozana Ernest (48)

- (i) *Khuz' imoni*
- (ii) *Kulomuzi*
- (iii) *Gane (full form Ingane)*
- (iv) *Yebo-ke!*
- (v) *Woza fana! (full form Mfana)*

Translation

- (i) Say hello - morning
- (ii) In this house (*kraal*)
- (iii) Child
- (iv) Oh yes!
- (v) Come boy!

Praises

Ugxaba lembadada umanyathela

Untombi zimcela uxolo

Namhla ephuthuma

Unkomo mezosso kwelakubo Kwa-Zulu

Ngob' uzam' unezoso

Kwelakub' endiya

Translation

An old Zulu sandal fine dancer

The one women run after

Even when he is in a hurry

The beast that provides meat in his home place Zululand

Because the iguana provides meat

In his home place India

RADIO XHOSA

Radio Xhosa Announcer's Stylistic Creations1. Bongco Z (30)

(i) Izor-man

(ii) Z B

(iii) The sweetest taboo

(iv) Bongcee

(v) Lazozo

(vi) *Ndibuz' undithi nca* (Ask me until you ask
no more)

(vii) *Zolani he!*

(viii) Mr Quiet Storm

(ix) *Gatyeeni* (a clan name)

(Some of the styles here have no literary translation)

2. Zola Patricia Kaso (39)

- (i) *Masambe!*
- (ii) *Makazi*
- (iii) *Uyandibiza makazi?*
- (iv) *Andifuni lonto*
- (v) *Masahambe lahla!*
- (vi) *Lahla, lahl' umlenze!*
- (vii) *Mazozo*
- (viii) *Zala mazawu makazi Kaso!*
- (ix) *Sungayazi, sungayiqondi*
- (x) *Lomtana*
- (xi) *Uyazilahla wena*
- (xii) *Lahl' ithumbu!*
- (xiii) *Ayi, ayi, ayi!*
- (xiv) *Batshise mbawula!*

Translation

- (i) Let's go!
- (ii) Aunty
- (iii) Are you calling my aunt?

- (iv) I don't want that
- (v) Let's go, throw!
- (vi) Throw, throw the leg
- (vii) No literal translation - only alliteration
- (viii) Fill up the air-waves Aunt Kaso!
- (ix) You don't know it, you don't understand it
- (x) This child
- (xi) You are misleading yourself
- (xii) Throw the intestine!
- (xiii) No, no, no!
- (xiv) Burn them brazier!

3. Mpunzi Fezile (37)

- (i) Yep yep ya
- (ii) *Inkosi mazithambe, isicaka sivumile*

Translation

- (i) No literal translation
- (ii) Let the kind have mercy, the poorer is
submissive

4. Bacela P (45)

- (i) *Ntanga yakho*

- (ii) *Uqhakazile mtwana*
- (iii) *A! Mtwana!*
- (iv) *Nik' untwan' ibhayilakhe!*
- (v) *Thathi into yakho!*
- (vi) *Dithi qhi*
- (vii) *Lekker*
- (viii) *Hopsaai*

Translation

- (i) Person of my age
- (ii) You are shining baby
- (iii) Oh baby!
- (iv) Give the baby his/her carrying shin!
- (v) Take your thing!
- (vi) No possible literal translation
- (vii) Nice
- (viii) No possible literal translation

5. Msimange Lifa (32)

- (i) *Lifas*
- (ii) Master Blaster
- (iii) Laughing spook jingle
- (iv) Jazz Professor

- (v) Your super DJ
- (vi) *Difaqane* (Name of war)

6. Makaza Vuyani (33)

- (i) Video, Video (jingle)
- (ii) What do you want infront of the mirror?
- (iii) *Kwowu! Kwowu! Yaqal' inkathazo*
- (iv) *Ngubani ixesha* Video special?
- (v) *Siyakuthanda* Video special

Translation

- (iii) Oh! Oh! Now starts the problem
- (iv) What's your time Video special?
- (v) We love you Video special

7. Nomsobo G V

- (i) Doc, what's your time? I don't know
- (ii) *Kunjani Mapantsula?*
- (iii) *Hayi maan nhonho!*
- (iv) *Amagubham pha*

Translation

- (ii) How are you Mapantsula?

- (iii) No maan lady!
- (iv) My drums here

RADIO NDEBELE

Radio Ndebele announcers' stylistic creations

1. Mahlangu P D (34)

- (i) *Sprokoriko*
- (ii) *Aya aya aya*
- (iii) *Ayoba Ayobayo style*
- (iv) *Sjive spotoriko*
- (v) *Skhulum' ispotoriko*
- (vi) *Thiza thiza aha aha!*
- (vii) *Punka punka batho*
- (viii) *Sangena thiza thiza*
Wangena kwathul' umoya (song)
- (ix) *Sacha sacha*
- (x) *Sithatha amagadanyo*

- (i) No possible literal translation
- (ii) No possible literal translation
- (iii) No possible literal translation

- (iv) We dance spotoriko
- (v) We speak spotoriko
- (vi) Thiza Thiza oh oh!
- (vii) No possible literal translation (*batho*
means 'people')
- (viii) Here comes Thiza Thiza
And the air cuts off
- (ix) No possible literal translation
- (x) We are taking steps

2. Kekana Irvin (32)

- (i) *Sacha* to come nice
- (ii) *Mbani weZulu*
- (iii) *Umthankana kababa*

Translation

- (i) *Sacha* has no possible meaning here
- (ii) The lightning
- (iii) My father's boy

RADIO SWAZI

Radio Swazi Announcers' Stylistic Creations

1. Sambo Alfred (34)

- (i) The boogie man from Radio Swazi
- (ii) *Ngitsi labo* (That's us)

2. Lukhele Shukuma (33)

- (i) *Shushu* baby keep on calling me, I'll be there
- (ii) (With musical instruments)
- (iii) *He! He! Nang' ushushu*
- (iv) *Nang' uShukuma*
- (v) *SiyaShukuma*
- (vi) *Wabol' ugway' ubashiwe*
- (vii) *Mbo! Mbo! Mbo!*

Translation

- (iii) Oh! Oh! There is Shukuma
- (iv) There is Shukuma
- (vi) An idiomatic expression meaning 'Oh! What a pity!'
- (vii) An ideophone which cannot be translated

SERMONS

Rev H Mbatha's Sermon

Makube kunina umusa nokuthulo okuvela kuNkulunkulu uBaba wethu naseNkosini yethu uJesu Kristu.

Namhla ekuseni, kulelisono lokuqcina onyakeni ka 1990, ake sihube kanye kanye ihubo elithi 'Lalelani izingelozini', kulenkonzoni,

HYMN

Izwi lenkosi lanahla, siyakulifundo njengoba lilotshiwe encwadini kaJoshua, isahlukko ngesesine. Siyakufunda sisuka endimeni yokugala size sigcine endimeni yesishiyagalolunye. Ngaphambi kokuba sifunde lamazwi, ake sisondel' enkosini ngomkhuleko:

Baba wethu osezulwini

Nkulunkulu wethu osithandayo

Siyakubonga baba ukuba kube intando yakho

Namhl' ekuseni, sixhumene nabalaleli

Abalalele lomsakazo.

Nkosi kuyisifiso senhliziyo yethu,

Ukuba lelithub' osiphe lona,

Silisebenzise kahle,

Silisebenzise ngendlela

Wena omise ukuba ukhonzwe ngayo.

Kuyisifiso senhliziyo yethu Baba ukuba

Sinciphe thina, ukhule wena

Kuyisifiso senhliziyo yethu ukuba

Iphimbo lakho liphinde lizwakale

Kulomphakath' esiphila kuwo.

Kuyisifiso senhliziyo yethu ukuba

Ukusifinyelelisa kwakho

Ekugcineni kwalonyaka

Kufakazelwe Baba izenzo zethu:

Ezifuze wena.

Uyinkosi elungileyo

Uyinkos' ebheka kade,

Uyinkos' ebekezelayo

Ngob' ubekezela nanxa

Izono zethu sezinkulu kangaka.

Uyinkosi yoxolo ngoba

Usinxolela nanxa

Imisebenzi yethu iphambene kangaka
Nentando yakho.

Baba wethu
Namuhla ekuseni
Siza nabafofowethu nodadewethu
Abase zimweni ezahlukeneyo.
Zehlukenene kakhulu
Zinjengokwehlukana kwakho.

Baba!
Sikhulekela Nkosi 'ukuba
Ubasize, ubaphendule ngomsa wakho
Kuze kuthi izidingo zethu
Nengcebo yakho kukrestu, uJesu.

Sisondela kuwe Baba
Sithi make kube kuhle kuwe
Ukuba nxa siphela
Siqeda lonyaka
Singen' onyaken' omusho
Sinempilo entsha nezingumo ezintsha
Nokwenza okusha.

Lokhu kwenza - kufuze wena.

Siyakubonga - ke Nkosi

Ngezwi lakho elizawushunyayelwa namuhla

Ezindaweni ezahlukeneyo.

Sithi yenza ngomsa wakho

Nangesihawu sakho esikhulu

Ukuba abalishumayelayo -

Bahlanzisiswe.

Ukuba abalishumayelayo

Bagezisiswe.

Kuze kuthi labo abazobe belalele

Ezinkonzweni,

Bangakhutshwa imisebenzi yabo emibi,

Ukuba bangezwa umlayezo weVangeli.

Siyakubonga Nkosi

Ukuthi uzobusiso laba abazobe belalele

Ubahlanzisise ukuba babe izitsha

Ezifanel' ukuba kuphakwe kuzo

Kuphakelw' ivangel' elimsulwa

Nevangel' eliyingcwele.

Sizicelela - ke Baba izono zethu
 NgoKrestu, uJesu, iNkosi yethu
 Amen.

Intshumayelo

Sifunda lapha isehlakalo, esasiqoph' umlando esizweni sikaNkulunkulu. Nxa isizwe sikaNkulunkulu sesifike emfuleni Jordani, Lababantu basebenomlando omude noNkulunkulu. Babebone uNkulunkulu enz' isimangaliso kubo. Babon' uNkulunkulu eqhamuko ngethuba lesidingo esikhulu, isidingo esaqubuka eGibhithe behlupheka, behlushwa, bebulawa. Waqhamuka uNkulunkulu ngesu lakhe, wabakhulula.

Babecabanga ukuth' isilunge yonke indaba kodwa yonek' indaba nxa befika phezu kolwandle, ulwandle olubomvu nom' ulwandle lwemihlanga, lapho bahluleka khona, befun' indlela yokuwela, kungaweleki. Emva kwabo kwakukhon' ingozi yezingola zikaFaro, ezazibalandela. Lithi iBhayibheli 'Waphinda futhi UNkulunkulu wezulu, ebankhonzayo, waqhamuka bengamlindele, ngesu' lakhe eliyinqaba. UMose washay' amanzi, avuleka, bawela,

bawelela ngaphesheya. Washay' amanz' ahlangana - Yemuk' impi kaFaro.'

Wamuny' umlando owawuzolandel' emva kwalokho. Sibathola namhlanje bewel' iJordani, bengasaweli no Mosi, bewela nomholi omusha uJoshua. Sibathola besesimweni esingajwayelekile, isimo lapho bebona khona lomholi exazulul' inkinga yomful' omkhulu, owawuvimbile iJordani. Kodwa yena namhlanjena wenza ngeny' indlela. Nxa uJoshua esephumelele ikuba abawelise, lithi iBhayibheli:
'uNkulunkulu wayala wathi:

'Joshua kukhon' ingozi yokuba
Ngokuhamba kwesikhathi, izizukulwane zenu ziqcine zikhohliwe ukuthi ngenzelani, nxa nifik' emfuleni iJordani.

Ake ubheke nakhu mlaleli:

Into yokuqalo lapha esiyitholayo, sithol' ukuthi labobantu ngenkathi bewel', Jordani, bebewela bephethe umphongolo kaJehova. Bawela bephethe abaPristi baka Jehova. Bawela, bewela namadoda ahlomile, amadoda empi. Bawela, bewela nesizwe sonke. Awubheke uxubano oluhle kangaka. Lapha kukhon' amadod' empi, kukhon' amadoda

kaNkulunkulu, angabaPrists, kukhona uMphongolo kaJehova wesivumelwano, owuphawu lobukhona bukaNkulunkulu phakathi kwawo. Okwathi ekugcineni, indawo yawo yathathwa yikuza kwenkos' uJesu, yazothabanekele ngabantu. Kwathi nxa isihamba yathi, 'Ifun' ithabanakeli lami lisuke, ithabanekele lami liyi bandla, ibandla lami liyakuholwa nqumoya.'

'Awazi yini ukuthi imizimba yenu iyithempeli likaNkulunkulu?'

Umphostoli uPawuli nxa ekhuluma ngalendaba.

Kodwa into esiyitholayo lapha mlaleli, sithol' ukuthi kwakuwela isizwe. Siwela sisuka ezweni elidala lohlupheko. Siwelela ezweni elisha lesethembiso.

Lababantu bawela bonke. Lababantu bawela behlangene (lish' iBhayibheli). Lababantu bawela nokholo.

Lababantu bawela namandla. Lababantu bawela namasu empi yabo, kodwa bawela behlangene.

Siphila esikhathini lapho namhlanje, sibon' abaholi abanamandla, nezinhlangano ezinamandla, futhi zikhona, noma zinemibango emikhulu namhlanje, zibulalana zilwa. Futhi ekufeni kwabantu kuze kufe ikakhulukazi lababantu

abangelutho, okubangelukuthi isigcino sezinhlango, zigcine zingenabantu eziyakubahola, nabayakuba ngamalunga azo ngoba phela bayobe bengasekho abantu abaholwa zinhlangano, izinhlangano ezikhonela bona.

Kodwa siphila esikhathini lapho namhlanjena labobantu sebebona amasu abo engcono futhi ehlakaniphile kakhulu kunoNkulunkulu. Siphil' esikhathini lapho sibona khona abantu behamba phambili kakhulu kunoNkulunkulu we Bhayibheli. Siphil' esikhathini laph' abantu bebona khona ukudo niselwa kuNkulunkulu kuyinto ebahlehlisela nyova kakhulu. Siphil' esikhathini lapho abantu bebong khon' ukuthi ngisho nje ukuzihlanganisa nokholo lobukristu, kungahle kubabangele ukuthi balahlekelwe ngabalandeli, kungahle kubabangele ukuthi amasu abo enkululeko alimale. Babona sengathithi ukusondela kokholo lwesiminya kuzodala ukuba abantu babe ngamavaka, abantu balibale imbudane ngoba sebefuna ukusondela kuNkulunkulu weBhayibheli.

Uthi uJoshua lamatshe kufanel' ukuba abe ngofakozi okugada ingozi yokuba kulwe abantu, abayakuhamba, bahambe bamhlubuke uJehova. Bayekel' ukufundis' izingane zabo

izimangaliso zikaNkulunkulu, bayekel' ukukhomba amaqiniso
ezehlakalo ngenxa kaNkulunkulu, bazifunele bon' udumo.

Bafun' ukuba batuswe bona njengamaqhawe asendulo, bafun'
ukuba batuswe bona njengosiyazi basendulo. Kodwa
niyakuthi kubantwa benu:

Kukhone into esasihamba nayo nabantwa' bami.
Kukhon' into eyaba isizathu senkululeko yethu.
Kukhon' into eyaba isizathu sokungena kwethu ezweni
lesethembiso.

Lento kwakungumphongolo kaJehova esingawulahlanga.
Lento kwakungumphongolo kaJehova esosiwuthwele sihamba
nawo.

Siya esikhathi lapho abantu bezoya ngokuya bethamba nobuKrestu
babo. Siya esikhathini lapho abantu bezoya ngokuya
babenamahloni ukuphumel' obal' ukuthi bayakholwa
nguNkulunkulu, uMnimimandla onke, uMdali wezulu nomhlabo,
nakuJesu Krestu, indodana yakh' ezelwe yodwe inkosi yethu.
Owemukelwa ngumoy' ongcwele. Wazalw' intomb' uMariya.
Empilweni yakhe wahlupheka ezandleni zawoPilatu. Ekugcineni
wabethelw' esiphambanweni, wafa.

Siphila siya esikhathini lapho abantu bezobona khona
lezizinto, njegezinto ezehlukanis' abantu.

Siya esikhathini lapho abantu bezawubona khona lezizimvumo,
njengezivumo eziyingozi. Ngoba zibangel' ukuba zizamazamise
izisekelo zamaqembu abantu.

Thina sasingeke siwele

Thina sasingeke sibe yilokhu esiyikho.

Ngabe sabhubha saphela

Ukuba kukungenxa yokuba,

Kwakungenxa yokuba

Sasihambe sithwel' umphongolo kaNkulunkulu wezulu.

Sasihamba, sihamba naye uNkulunkulu wethu

Sasihamba, silwa naye uNkulunkulu wethu.

Sasihamba, siwa sivuka nNkulunkulu wethu

Ngenxa yalokhu sabeka isivivane.

Sacosh' amatsh' emfuleni awomileyo

Amanz' aw' engamukile.

Sathi siyawathatha lamatshe,

Siyawabeka lamatshe

Ukuze nibone nani.

Siged' unyaka, mlaleli, siged' unyaka lapho sibone khona

kwenzeka izimangaliso. Siged' unyaka lapho sibone khona

uNkulunkulu ephendul' imikhuleko yabantwana babantu asebalala

abanyebabo, abangeke besazibona lezizethembiso. Sigeda unyaka laphe abantwana babantu, abanye babhubha ngesihluku, babhubha kanzima ngenxa yokuba babekhuleka befisa ukuba ngesikhathi sabo kwenzek' izinto, kukhulunyw' izinto esizibona namuhla zikhulunywa, emisakazweni, emphephandabeni, emihlanganweni yemiphakathi. Namhlanjena sibona kukhulunyw' izinto ezazingephathwe nokuphathwa ngamathuba edlule, ngeminyi edlule. Sibona namhlanjena kwenzeka izinto, isintu, umphakathi walelizwe usondelana. Sibona imithetho ebihlukanisa imiphakathi, siyibona namhlanje ilengelwa ukubhubh' uqobo lwakho. Yin' okubangela lokhu? Yingenxa yokubanini abantana babantu, abakholwayo, bakhuleka ngesineke, babekezela bamlindela uJehova, banamathela kuye. Bangakhulek' ukuba kukhululw' ibandla lodwa. Bakhulek' ukuba kukhululwe isizwe. Bakhulek' ukuba kukhululwe izwe. Bakhulek' ukuba kukhululwe isintu sonke.

Yebo mlaleli, kungenzek' ukuthi nxa singena onyaken' omusha, okuyawuthi ngesonto elilandelayo, kube sekuyiwo, babekhona abantu abazokuthanda ukufiphaz' ukubaluleka kwebandla. Bengahle babekhona abantu ebazothanda ukukhomba ezinye izizathu ngaphandle kwemikhuleko yamangcwele, ezibangel' ukuba kube noguquko eNingizimu Africa. Bangahle babekhona abantu

abangathanda ukuba kushiwo, kukhulunywe ngamandl' ezikhali, kukhulunywe nangamandl' engubo yabantu abathile, kukhulunywe ngamandla namasu abant' abathile.

Lithi izwi likaNkulunkulu namhlanje:

Kukhon' izinto esizibeka namuhla kulelisonto lokugcina njengesivivane. Sithi, kuze kube laph' esikhona namuhla, kulonyako izehlakalo ezenzekile, eziluguquko kulelizwe olihle, zingenxa kaNkulunkulu wezulu obehamba nathi kuze kube namhlanje. UNkulunkulu obenathi ekukhaleni kwethu, uNkulunkulu obenathi ekuhluphekeni kwethu, uNkulunkulu obenath' engcindezini, uNkulunkulu obenathi enzondweni, uNkulunkulu obenathi ekwahlukanisweni. UNkulunkulu osilandele, walandela abantwabethu ezikoleni kunzima, walandel' abafowethu nodadewethu emisebenzini kunzima. Walandela abantwana, uNkulunkulu olandele obaba nomama bethatha, beqhathanisa, behlupheka, beciciyela kodwa belokhu bemazi uNkulunkulu wezulu. Bethi:

Nkulunkulu owangamula amanz' olwandle koma bawela abantu.

Nkulunkulu wasendulo, owangamul' imifula yama bawel' abantu, ngoba behamba nawe.

Ngeliny' ilanga uyakuqhamuka,
Ngeliny' ilanga amandl' akh' ayobonakala
Ngeliny' ilanga ababusi abanamandla
 Bayakukhulum' okungalindelwe.

Yebo mlaleli, namhlanje ngiyakumema ukuba sithath' izint' ezithile, uNkulunkulu asenzele zona, singezi singalindele kulonyaka ka 1990 sizibeke, sizibeke ekuqaleni kuka 1991 njengesivivane. Ukuze kuthi nxa bebuza abantwa na bethu bethi:

Nafika kanjani la?
Kodwa loluguquko esenikulo manje
Lwenzeka kanjani?

Ingani ngikhuluma ngokuhlupheka, ingani ngikhuluma ... sithi,
uma kwakungengenxa yokuba sasihamba noNkulunkulu kuyo yonke leminyaka, uma kwakungengenxa, yokuba sasinamathele kuNkulunkulu wezulu, uma kwakungengenxa, yokuthu sabambelela kuNkulunkulu kumnyama kunzima, besingeke sifike kulendawo. Babusisiwe abantu, sibusisiwe isizwe, libusisiwe iqembu ubusisiwe umholi ozaqubek' izivivane sezehlankalo zika Nkulunkulu, ozaqubek' izivivane sezehlehlakalo zika 1990 athi:

Nkosiyami!
Uma bekungengenxa yakho
Uma bebekungenxa yomsa wakho
Bekungeke kube nje
Bekungeke kube nalezingumo,
Bekungeke kube nalengubo
Bekungeke kube nalababaholi

Mlaleli, kukhon' izinto ebesingeke sizithole. Futhi namanje kukhon' izinto esizoba nazo ngonyak' ozayo esingenazo namhlanje njengoba ngikhuma nawe kulomsakazo. Esayawuthi nxa sesinazo bese sikhohlw' ukuthi sasingeke sibe nazo uma kwakungengenxa kaNkulunkulu wezulu. Ngiyakumema namuhla, ukuba nxa siqeda lonyaka, sakh' isivivane, isivivane sezilonsiso uNkulunkulu asiphe zona.

Sizibek' ingwaba sithi sifun' ukuba niti lezizibusiso zibe ubufakazi kubantwa' bethu ukuthi ukuba kwakungengenxa yokuba sihamba noJehova empilweni yethu, ukuba kwakungengenxa yokuba sinamathele kuye, simkhonza ngenhliziy' emhlophe, simkhonza, sihlupheka, simkhonza sifa, simkhonza sigula, simkhonza silamba, simkhonza singenamisebenzi, s-i-m-kh-onz' uNkulunkulu wethu.

Ngithand' ukubanini namhlanjena kengikumeme, ngikumem' ukube ungalenz' iphutha lokuba ucabang' ukuthi ukungena kwethu enkululekweni, ukungena kwethu eNingizimu Africa entsha, kusho lokhu ukuncipha kokubaluleka kokubambelela kwethu kuKristu, kusho lokhu kuncipho kokubaluleka, ukufundisa abantwa bethu imfundiso yobuKristu, kusho lokhu ukuncipha kokubaluleka ukufundisa abaholi bethu ukuba bahloniphe besabe uNkulunkulu,

ukukhuleka, sikhuleka kuNkulunkulu, sikhulekela abaholi,
ukukhuleka sikhulekela umnotho, ukukhuleka sikhulekela
inhlalakahle ezweni, ukukhuleka sikhulekela ubulungiswa
ezweni, ukukhuleka sikhulekela ubunye ezweni, ukukhuleka ...
 Sifanel' ukuba sinamathele kakhulu kuNkulunkulu osenzel'
 izintw' ezibonakalayo.

Sithi uSomandla usenzel' izint' enkulu.

Ububonil' ubuze bethu
UNkulunkulu usenzel' izint' ebesingezenzelwe muntu.
UNkulunkulu usenzel' izint' esifanal' ukuba sizisho,
 Phambi kwabantu, ezinyaweni zikaKristu,
 Ezinyaweni zesiphambano, sicoshe khona,
 Sithole khona okwakungenakutholakala ndawo.

Ngiyakumena namhlanje, ukuba siye namhlanje
 ezinyawenizesiphambano. Sithi:

Uma bekungekhon' ezinyaweni zesiphambano
 Besingeke sikuthole lokhu namhlanje okuzibusiso
 Esakha ngakho isivivane, esithi akusoze kubuye
 kubekhon' ukuphela konyaka, okunjengokuphela kuka
1990, lapho kuphela khona izinsizi zethu, lapho
kuphela khona ukuyaluza kwethu, lapho kuphele khona
ukungqungqutha kwethu, lapho kuphele khona
ukuphumputha kwethu.

Ngiyakumema mlaleli, ngukumem' ukuba sakh' isivivane namuhl'
 ekuseni ngalelisonto lokugcina kulenyanga, kulo nyaka. Sakhe
 isivivane ethuseni sezibusiso zikaNkulunkulu sithi:

Nkosi yethu
Ukuba bekungengenxa yobukhulu kwakho
 Ngabe asikho lapha
 Wen' uthi ngabe sikhona yini kodwa? Uthi uma ucabanga
 ngezinto ezithile, esogala ngazo lonyaka zikhona.
Uthi uma ucabanga ngokuncabang' oluthile nokuqond'
 oluthile esogala lonyaka kukhona, osekushabalele?
 Okungasekho?

Ngiyakumema muntu kaThixo, ungayenzilukhuni inhliziyo yakho.
 Uvum' ukuba ube ngomunye wabamela isizwe sakini wabamela
 umndeni wakho, wabamela isizwe sakini wabamel' abangani bakho.

Lithi iBhayibheli kwakufanele ukuba leso naleso sizwe, simelwe
 ngothile. Awuthandi yini wena ukumela abakhonza nawe, ukumela
 iqembu lakho, ukumela abangeni bakho, uka uyocosha izibusiso
 ezinyaweni zesiphambano, sakhe ngazo izivivane namuhla. Sithi
 nxa kuphe la lonyaka sithi simbonil' uNkulunkulu ngokuhamba
kwethu naye, ngokuhamba kwethu nendodana yakhe. Simbonil'
 uNkulunkulu ephendul' imikhuleko yethu. Babusisiwe
abazakwenza njalo. Babusisiwe abantu abangezucabang' ukuthi
 iNingizimu Africa entsha isho ukuncipha kokubaluleka
kokukhuleka, isho ukubaluleka kokuncipha kokukhonza, isho
ukuncipha kokubaluleka kokunamathela kuNkulunkulu, uNkulunkulu
 ophilayo.

Babusisiwe abantu bami abazawuthi ngifuna abantwa bami nxa
bezawungibusa bethi:

Kungokwani lokhu?
Wafika kanjani la?
Wakuthola kanjani lokhu?

Ngithi:

Ngangingeke ngibe nakho
Ukuba kukungengenxa kaNkulunkulu
Engangihamba naye

UNkulunkulu makakubusise, usondele kuye ngomkhuleko.

Baba wethu oseZulwini,

Nkulunkulu osaziyo,

NoNkulunkulu owawusazi kuqala lonyaka,

Nkosi sothi nxa singcina kuwo,

Sangena nje, ngoba sase sikwejwayele okuzinsizizethu,

Kwakukhon' ukucabang' ukuthi nawo uyakuphela izinsizi zethu

Zinkulu njengeminye.

Kodwa Baba, wena wawazi

Ngoba uokuyakuyi phendul' imikhuleko yabaNgcwele

Wawuyakuyiphendul' imikhuleko yasebahamb' emhlabeni

Wawuyakuyiphendul' imikhuleko yabathil' abasekhona.

Nkulunkulu wethu wawazi ukuthi nxa siqeda,
Siyawube sinokuqonda okwahlukileyo.
Siyawube sithi impela simbonil' uJehova,
Eyiphendul' imikhuleko yezwe lakithi.

Nkosi yethu!

Sibong' izibusiso ezinhle.

Lokhu sazi ukuthi kukhon' olusiyablusayo

Kodwa Baba sithi:

Kukhulu kakhulu
Zinkulu kakhulu izibusiso osiphezona
 Kunokujabh' uSathane asilethela
 Khon'ezweni.

Sithi:

Nkulunkulu wethu ongcwele namhlanje kulenkonz
 Simis' isivivane, isivivane esiyakweziwa abantwa'
 bethu
Isivivane esiyakwaziwa zihlobo zethu nezizukulwane
 Ezilandelayo,
 Ukuthi namhlanje sikhuleka ngelelisonto lokugcina
 Onyakeni, umkhuleko ongefani nemikhuleko,
 ebesiyikhuleka eminyakeni.
 Sikubon' uqhamuka.

Amen

Translation

To you, let there be peace and quiet which comes from the Almighty, our Father and also from our King, Jesus Christ.

Today, this morning, in this last week of the year 1990, let us all sing together the hymn which goes '*Lalelani izingelosi*' in this service.

HYMN

The words of God today will be read as it is written in the book of Joshua, Chapter 4. We are going to read from the first verse up to the eighth paragraph. Before we read these words, let us come closer to the Almighty by means of prayer.

Our Father who art in heaven.

Our God who loves us,

We thank you Father that it has been your will today this morning, being in communication with the listeners; listeners who are listening to the broadcasting co-operation.

God! It is our wish

That this opportunity you have given us,

We utilise well.

We utilise it in the manner

In which you have ordained you should be worshipped.

It is our hearts' wish Father that
We diminish in stature, You grow in stature.
It is our hearts' wish that
Thy voice be heard again
In this society in which we live.

It is our hearts' wish that
Your having made it possible for us to reach
The end of this year
Be supported Father by our deeds,
That resemble You.

You are the King who is so kind
You are the King who always watches over us
You are the King who is patient;
You remain patient even in spite of the fact that
Our sins have accumulated to such a great extent.
You are the King of peace
Because You forgive us
Even
though our deeds have been much against Thy will.

Our Father!

Today this morning

We come with our brothers and sisters

Who are in different conditions

Very different, like the differences among them.

Father!

We pray, God, that You help them,

You respond to their prayers with your kindness

So that their needs can be satisfied.

You promised us, God, in Thy word

That You are going to satisfy our needs.

With Thy wealth in Jesus Christ.

We draw towards You father!

We say let it be good to You,

So that when we are in good health

When we end this year

We enter the new year

With new life and new resolutions

And new deeds.

These deeds must resemble you.

We thank You, therefore, God
With Thy word that will be preached today
In different places.
We ask you to do with Thy kindness
And Thy great mercy
That those who preach Thy word,
Be thoroughly purified
That those who preach Thy word,
Be thoroughly cleansed
So that those who will be listening to the sermons
May not be caused to stumble by their evil works
So that they may not hear the message of the sermon.

We thank You God
Because You will bless those who will be listening
Purifying them to be bowls
Suitable for dishing up into
To dish up the pure teaching, the Holy teaching.

Forgive us therefore, Father, our sins
Through Jesus Christ, our King
Amen.

The Sermon

Here we read of the incident which was historic for God's nation. When God's nation reached the river of Jordan, these people had had a long history with God. They saw God doing incredible deeds to them. Seeing God appearing in a moment of great need, the need that arose in Egypt where they were suffering, being badly treated and killed, God came up with His plan and released them.

They thought that the matter had been settled. But the matter became a problem when they reached the sea, i.e. the Red Sea or 'the Sea of the reeds'. That is they failed in searching for the way to cross the sea, as it was difficult to cross. Behind them, there was the imminent danger of Pharoah's wagons which were following them. The Bible says: The Almighty God, whom they worshipped, again appeared unexpectedly with His mysterious plan. Moses hit the water and the water divided into two, and they moved across. He hit the water again and the water closed the gap - Pharoah was washed away.

The history that would follow after that was too long. We find them today crossing Jordan without Moses, but crossing with a new leader Joshua. We find them in an unusual

condition, the condition where they see this leader solving the problem of the big river, Jordan, which was a barrier. But today, he is doing it in a different way. When Joshua had succeeded in letting them cross, the Bible says God advised: 'Joshua, there is a danger that, as time goes on, your generation will end up having forgotten what I did for you, when you reached the river Jordan'.

Just take note of this, listener.

The first thing that we discover when these people crossed the Jordan, was that they were crossing with Jehova's cask in their hands. They crossed while they were in possession of Jehova's priests while they were crossing, they crossed with armed men, men of war. While they were crossing, they crossed with the whole nation. Just look at that, what a wonderful mixing with each other (what a wonderful cooperation with each other). Here there are men of war, there are men of God, who are said to be priests, there is Jehova's cask of the covenant which is a symbol of God's existence within itself, which in the end, its place was taken by the advent of the King Jesus and was going to enjoy through the people. When the King was moving away, He said: 'He wants my tabernacle to be removed;

my tabernacle is the congregation. My congregation is going to be led by the Holy Spirit'. Don't you know that their bodies are the temple of God? Paul, the priest, when he talks about this matter ... ???

But the thing that we get here listener, is that the nation was crossing, moving from the old land of suffering to the new land of the promise. They all moved across. They crossed in unity (the Bible says). These people crossed with religious belief. These people crossed with power. These people crossed with techniques/strategies of their war, but they crossed in unity.

We are living in the time where we see powerful leaders and organisations existing and having great disputes and killing one another. There is death of people and even ordinary people are dying a large numbers. This eventually leads to the fact that, in the final analysis, these organisations (parties) end up without people to lead; there would be no one left to be led by organisaiton. Organisations exist for them.

But we live in a time where today there are people see their devices being better and wiser than God. We live in a time where we see them moving far ahead of God in the Bible. We live in a time when the people see the shifting towards God as being something which pulls them far back. We live in a time when people see that even association with Christ's beliefs can cause them to lose their disciples. Christian beliefs can, at any time, cause damage to their plans for freedom. They imagine that to be close to the true faith would make them cowards; thus people adhere to false beliefs because they want to be near God in the Bible ?

Joshua says these stones are supposed to be witnesses who guard against danger of letting the people go across, the people who might desert Jehova and abstain from educating their children about God's wonders, abstain from pointing out the truth about the events because of God, and find for themselves fame, they want to be praised like heroes of olden times, and want to be praised like experts of olden times. But they will say to children:

There is something which we and our children are going
with
There is something which was the cause of our entering
the land of promise
This thing was Jehovah's cask which we never lost
This thing was Jehovah's cask which we were carrying
on our way.

We are going to a time where the people would gradually
rely on their Christian belief. We are going to a time
when people will gradually feel ashamed owning up that
they believe in God the Almighty, the Creator of the
Universe, and in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our King, who
was received by the Holy Spirit. He was born of Mary. In
His life, He suffered in the hands of Pilate. Finally, He
was crucified on the cross and He died.

We live moving into a time where people will see these
things as things that separate the people. We are moving
into a time when people would see these confessions as
dangerous confessions because they shake the foundations
of these groups.

We could not cross
We could not be what we are
We would all have been destroyers

It was because on our way,

We were carrying the cask of God,

God of the universe.

While we were going, we were going with our God.

While we were going, we were fighting with God on our side.

While we were going, we were falling and rising together with our God;

With regard to this, we put a heap of stones together,

We collected stones from the dry river,

The water had ceased to flow.

We told ourselves that we were taking these stones

We put these stones down

So that you too could see.

We were completing the year listener, when we were

experiencing miracles taking place. It was when we were

completing the year when we saw God answering the prayers of the people, some of whom would not see these promises.

When the year ended, some of the people died violently, they died painfully because they were praying (adoring)

God, wishing that in their time, things must happen.

Talking about things that we see today being addressed in

radio programmes, in the newspapers, in social gatherings. Today, we see things happening, mankind, citizens of this country coming together. We see the layers that separated people; we see them today being in danger of being scrapped or dismantled. What is the cause of this? It is through the fact that people who are Christians are praying persistently and patiently waiting for Jehovah and adhering to him. They did not pray only for the congregation to be set free. They prayed for the country to be set free. They prayed for all mankind to be free.

Yes listener, it may happen that when we enter the New Year, which will be next week, people will be there who love you, just to overshadow the importance of the congregation. There might be people who would love to point out other reasons, besides the Christians' prayers which caused change in South Africa. There might be people who would love to talk about the power of arms, the power of the policies of certain people's, the power and strategies of certain people.

The word of God today says:

There are things that we put today, in this last week, as the heap of stones. For us to reach the place we are in today, the incidents that have taken place, which are change in this beautiful country, are through God of the Heaven who has been accompanying us until today, God who has been with us in our cries, God who has been with us in our suffering, God who has been with us in our oppression, God who has been with us in hatred, God who has been with us in our discrimination. God who has followed us, He followed our children in schools in the times of difficulty, He followed our brothers and sisters in the difficult jobs, He followed our fathers and mothers, while they were comparing, suffering, making do with the little they had but knowing God of the Heavens.

Saying:

God who divided the water of the sea
And it dried, the people began to cross.
God of ancient times
Who divided the rivers and rivers stopped.
The people crossed the rivers because they were with
You.

One day, He would appear.

One day, His powers would be seen.

One day, powerful governors would talk about something which is unexpected.

Yes, listeners, today I invite you to take with me certain things God has done for us, so that we do not come having not prepared for this year 1990 and put them down, we must put them down at the beginning of the year 1991 as a heap of stones so that when our people ask us:

How did you reach this place?
How did this change in you happen?

Why did I talk about suffering, why did I talk about suffering?

I say, if it were not for the fact that we were going with God in all these years, if it were not for the fact that we were adhering to the God of Heaven, if it were not for the fact that we had stuck to God when things were difficult, we would not be able to reach this place. Blessed are the people, blessed is the nation, blessed is the organisation, blessed is the leader who would put a heap of stones concerning God's incidents, the leader who would put a heap of stones concerning the incidents of the year 1990 and say:

My God
If it were not through You
If it were not through Your kindness,
It wouldn't be like this,
These decisions would not be
This way of life would not be
These leaders would not be.

Listener! There are things which we would not have attained. Even at present, there are things which we are going to have next year. Those things we do not have at present as I am talking to you in this broadcast, which when we have obtained them, we will to forget that we would not have had them if it were not through God of the Heaven.

I am going to invite you, if we complete this year, to build a heap of stones which is God's blessings which He has given us; and put them together into a heap of stones saying that we want these blessings to be a witness to our children, that if it were not for the fact that we go with Jehobah in our life, that it were not for the fact that we adhere to Him, and adore Him wholeheartedly, worshipping Him in our suffering, adoring Him in death, adoring Him in hunger, adoring Him while we are without jobs, adoring our God.

Today, I would like to invite you not to make a fault and think that our entering into freedom is our entering into a new South Africa. This means a decrease in the importance of our adhering to Jesus Christ, this means a decrease in the importance of giving our children Christian educations, this means a decrease in the importance of teaching our leaders to be able to respect, to be able to fear God; to pray, praying to God, praying for leaders; to pray, praying for the economy; to pray, praying for social welfare in the country; to pray, praying for justice in the country; to pray, praying for unity in the country. Praying ... we ought to be adhering mostly to God who has done for us visible things. We say the Almighty has done for us great things:

He has seen our helplessness
God has done for us things which no one could have
done for us,
God has done for us things which we ought to talk
about
In front of the people, at the feet of Christ
At the foot of the cross, be able to pick up there,
and get there so that we collect there and find
there that which would not have been obtained
anywhere else.

Today I invite you to go with me to the foot of the cross.
We say:

If it has not been at the foot of the cross, we would not have attained this, that is, the blessings, by which we build a heap of stones, which we say will never come back until the end of the year, which is just like the end of the year 1990, where our worries end, where commotion ends, where our urge ends, where our groping ends.

I invite you listener, I am inviting you to build a heap of stones, today this morning, in this last week of this month in this year, to build a heap of stone which is said to be the heap of God's blessings. We say:

Our Lord
If it were not through your leadership
We wouldn't be here!

Do you say we would be here? What do you say, when you think of certain things, which were there when we began this year? Do you think when you think of certain things and remember understaindn which existed when we betan this year, is it something tht ahas disappeared?

I do invite you child of God, don't harden your heart.
Accept to be one of those who represents your nation, your family, your relatives, your friends.

The Bible says:

Each and every nation was supposed to be represented by someone. Don't you like to represent the people with whom you worship, to stand for your group, to stand for your friends, to collect blessings from the foot of the cross, to be able to build with these blessings a heap of stones today?

And say when the year ends, we have see God through our walking with Him, through our walkign with His Son. We have seen God changing our prayers. Blessed are those who are going to do likewise. Blessed are the people who would not thing that the new South Africa means a decrease in the importance of praying, a decrease of worship, a decrease in the importance of adhering to God, the living God.

Blessed are my people who, when their children ask them:

What is this for?
How did you reach this place?
How did you obtain this?

reply:

I would not have had this
If it were not for the sake of God
With whom I walked
May God bless you, and come closer to Him by prayer.

Our father who art in Heaven,

God who knows us,
This God who saw us,
This God who knew us at the beginning of the year
God when we entered it,
We entered because we were used to our worries.
There was the thinking that this year would end with our
worries being as severe as they were in the previous
years.
But Father, You knew,
Because You were going to answer the prayers of the holy
ones.
You were going to answer the prayer of the people on
earth.
You were going to answer the prayer of certain people who
are still alive.
Our God You knew that when we end this year,
We would have a different understanding
We would be saying: 'We have seen Jehovah answer the
prayers of our country'.

Our Lord!
We are grateful for the good blessings,

Though we know that there is something which disappoints us.

But Father, we say:

It is very big,
The blessings which You have given us are bigger than
the disappointments the Devil has brought into the
country.

We say:

Our Holy God, today in this service we erect a heap of
stones which will be known by our children
The heap of stone which will be known by our relatives
and our next generation.
That today we pray in this last week of the year,
The prayer which differs from prayers which we made in
the previous years.
We see You appearing.
Amen.

RADIO XHOSA DEVOTION

1. Rev Nombela

Part One

Egameni like yise, Nonyana nelo Moya oyingcwele, Amen.

Ilizwe lenkosi silifumana kwisahluko sesine, kwiVangeli
likaLuka kwi Vesi yeshumi nesibhozo kuya kwishumi nethoba.
Ifundeka ngaloluhlobo:

Umoya wenkosi uphezu kwanu, ngokuba endisikelele,
Wandithumelela ukushumayeza amahlwembu iindaba zovuyo
Ukuohilisa abanentliziyo ezaphukuleyo,
Ukuxelela ababoshiweyo ngosindiso
Imfama ukubona, ukukhulula ababandezekileyo.
Ukushumayela unyaka ovumelekkileyo wenkosi.

Unyaka ovumelekileyo wenkosi uthetha ububele
UYesu-ke ushumayeza ngexesha losindiso
Njengokuba ke umsebenzi wakhe
Ikukhulula abantu bonke
Ebukhobokeni besono.

Xa sifunda-ke ku Leviticus 25 Verse 10 sifunda sifumana
amazwi kaYehova:

Niyakungcweliswa kunyaka wamashumi mahlanu
Nishumayelele inkululeko elizweni lonke
Kubo bonke abangabakhi, abangabakhi kulo
Kuyakuba lunchulumangco kuni

Nibuyele ibe ngolowo nalowo kwelifalakhe
Nibuyele ibe ngulowo nalowo kwabomzi wakhe.

Ayikho enye ivangeli ngaphandle kwaleyo enganda isimilo
 sabantu,

Ekufikeni kwakhe uYesu apha emhlabeni, akazange afike
 waavale,

Asukele ivangeli nje ebantwini, esithi uYehova
 anisikelele.

UYesu waqinisa ukuba ungumkhululi kwimfaneko zabantu
Kwafika abantu ababajwe luQhoko emzimbeni, wabanyanga.
Kwafika begodola behambaze, wabafudumeza, ngokubambathisa
Wafika bengenamakhaya wabagona belambile wabapha ukutya
 Wabahoya bengabalahlwa. Wabafumana bengathandwa mtu
wabathanda.

Ilizwi lenkosi elo: linengqondo kumuntu oshunyayezwayo.

Masinthandaze:

Thixo Somandla

Nkosi kusile

Sincede usiphe amandla.

Okujongana neengxaki zolusuku
 Kunye neengxongo zonke
Konke okusicela ngoYesu Krisu
 Unyana wakho, inkosi yethu
 Othi enguThixo aphile alawule kanye nawe
 Nikunye nomoya oyingcwele
Kumaxesha ngamaxesha
 Amen.

Isibhabhathiso sikaYehova, uSomandla
 uYese Nonyana noMoya oyingcwele
 Wanga ungahlala phezu kwenu
 Sihlale nani njalo.

Amen.

Translation

In the name of our Father, Son and the Holy Spirit, Amen.
 We get the word of the Lord from Chapter 4 of the Gospel
 of Luke, verse 17 to 18.

It reads thus:

The holy spirit of the Lord is on me because he blessed
 me,
 He sent me to preach to poor persons on matters concerning
 joy
 To let live those who are ill-hearted
 And to tell those who have been imprisoned
 The oppressed, preaching about
 The accepted year of happiness.

The accepted year of the Lord talks about sympathy
 Jesus Christ is preaching about the period of salvation.
 Since it is His duty
 To release all the people
 In getting rid of the sins.

If we read Leviticus 25 Verse 10 we come across Jehova's
 words:

You will be santified in the year fifty
 And preach for freedom in the whole continent
 To all those who are builders within
 It would be progressive to you
 Each and every one would come into his wealth

Each and every one would come back in members of the
family as it was
In the beginning.

There is no other gospel without that which can mould the
behaviour of the people,
His arrival i.e. Jesus Christ when he arrived here on
earth,
He did not close and take the gospel to the people saying:

He promised and emphasised that he is the comforter and
saviour

And those who were sick came forward to him
And those who were feeling cold without clothes, he warmed
and gave clothes
And those came homeless, he comforted and gave food
And welcomed them as they were deserted. And took them,
being loved by nobody.

Those are the words of the Lord: it has sense for those
who listen.

Let us pray:

God the Almighty
 God, daylight has come
 Help us and give us power
 To face the problems of the day
 And all the worries as well
 We ask all this through Jesus Chirst, Your son, our Lord
 Who, being God, is able to live and supervise
 Together with you
 Together with the Holy Spirit
 In different periods of time.
 Amen.

Jehovah's baptismal, the Almighty
 Father, Son and the Holy Spirit
 Be as it may rest on you
 And stay with you forever.
 Amen.

Part Two

Siyanibulisa nonke baathandekayo ngegama lenkosi uYesu
 Sinamulela kulenkonzo yethu, yakuSa. Siyakuyivula
 ngeculo.
 Elithi:

O Yesu Tixo wam.

Masithandaze.

Thixo Somandla

Izinhliziyi zonke zivulekile kuwe

Nemiqeni yonke yezizwe nguwe

Akukho nto efihlakaleyo kuwe

Idlamba iingcinga zeentliziyi zethu

Ngokuphumelela kuzo umoya wakho oyingcwele

Ukuze sikuthande ngokupheleleyo

Silidumise ngokupheleleyo igama lakho elingcwele

Ngenxa kaYesu Krestu inkosi yethu

Nkosi yiba nofefe.

Nkosi yiba nofefe.

Nkosi yiba nofefe.

Krestu yiba nofefe

Krestu yiba nofefe

Krestu yiba nofefe

Masivume izono zethu, zisimisele ukugcina imithetho
kaYehova, nokuphila

Ngokuthanda nangoxolo nomakhelwane benangoxolo bethu

Thixo Somandla

Bawo waseZulwini

Siyavuma siyazisola

Ngokuba sonke sinetyala

Ngokucinga ngokuthetha, nangokwenza, nangemposiso

Sixolele kuzozonke ezigqithileyo

Ngenxa yonyana wakho uKrestu inkosi yethu

Senze sikuthandaze ngokuhamba okutsha

]Kudunyiswe igamalakho.

Makungasi sithi Somandla

Makungasi sithi Simakade.

Kodwa makube ligama lakho alidunyiswayo

Ngenxa yobubele nokuthembeka kwakho.

Abezizwe batsho nto ukuthi

Uphi uthixo wakho na?

uThixo wethu osezulwini

Wenza yonke into ayithandayo

Imifanekiso yaso yiSiliva neGolide

Imisebenzi yezandla zabantu

Zinomlomo kodwa azithethi

Zinamehlo kodwa aziboni

Zinendlebe kodwa aziva

Zinempumulo kodwa zinuki ngazo

Zinezandla kodwa aziphathi

Zinenyawo kodwa azihambi

Azithethi nangomqala wazo

Abazenzayo bafana nazo

Nabobonke abathembela kuzo

Israel thembela kuSimakade

Yena ongumcedi nekhakha kubo

Wena ndlu kaAaron

Thembela kuSimakade

Ungumncedi nekhakha kubo

Nina enoyika uSimakade

Thembelani kuye

Ungumncedi nekhakha kubo

Makudunyise uYise neNdodana noMoya oyingcwele

Njengokuba kunjalo kwasekuqaleni

Kuyakuhlala kunjalo nanqeku

Kuyabubanjalo kude kube ngunaphakade

Amen.

Translation

I greet you all loved people in the name of the Lord,
Jesus Christ.

I welcome you in this sermon of ours

The sermon of joy or happiness

We are going to open iwth the Hymn which says:

O Yesu Thixo

Let us pray:

God the Almighty

All hearts are open to you

There is nothing that is hidden

Wash the holes of our hearts

By inhaling Thy holy spirit into them
So that we love you fully
And praise Thy holy word in full
Through Jesus Christ our Lord.

God have mercy
God have mercy
God have mercy

Christ have mercy
Christ have mercy
Christ have mercy

Let us accept our sins and be determined to keep Jehovah's
rules or regulations
And to live freely and peacefully with our neighbours
God Almighty
Our Father who art in heaven
We accept while we blame ourselves
Since we all have a case
By thinking and doing wrongly
Forgive us in all these wrong deeds.

Because of Your son Jesus Christ, our Lord
Make us praise You through Your new departure
Your word be praised.

Let there be no day light and say God
Let there be no day light and say God
but let there be Your name which is praised
Because of Your sympathy and faithfulness.

What do foreigners mean if they say:
Where is your Lord?
Our God is in heaven
He is doing everything He likes.

Their sculptures are silver and gold
They are people's handicraft
They have mouths but they don't talk
They have eyes but they don't see
They have ears but they don't hear
They have noses but they don't smell
They have hands but they don't grasp
They don't even talk with their neck.

Those who achieve and resemble these sculptures

The sculptors on which all of them rely
 Israel be reliable to God
 Who is an assistant and a shield to them

You the house of Israel
 Do rely on God
 Who is an assistant and a shield to them
 You who fear God
 Let the Father's Son and the Holy Spirit be praised.

Let God the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit be
 praised.

As it was in the beginning
 It will remain like that
 For eternity and forever.

B. SOTHO SERVICES

RADIO SESOTHO

Radio SeSotho Announcers' Stylistic Creations

1. Tseliso Leballo (35)

Setloholo sa Mamokgethi

Le dula le keketeha

Ngwana setsoha la pelo ya maobane

Translation

Grandchild fo Mamokgethi

The ever smiling one

The one who never changes

2. Chomane E (37)

(i) Choms Chomane

(ii) Sesa!

(iii) Ke ya sesa ngwanaka

(i) From his name

(ii) Swim!

(iii) I am swimming my baby

3. Sothoame SAP (36)

(i) SAP - Sothoame (said as an echo in
background)

(ii) Ringing telephone with ladies calling again
- SAP

4. Motaung Thuso (31)

- (i) *Bona ba o shebile*
- (ii) *Shapela fatshe*
- (iii) *O ketsang?*
- (iv) *Thuso wa Bana*
- (v) *Malome wa mafahla*
- (vi) *O ha utseba jwang?*
- (vii) *Thuso bapula, o ba thube*
- (viii) *Ba diradio matsohong (jingle)*
- (ix) *Hela Mmanyeko thesha -thesha*
O tho mamela
- (x) *Sututsa matutsa*
- (xi) *Thuso mokgotsi waka e kaba o kae?*

Translation

- (i) The children are watching you
- (ii) Get down to a lower gear
- (iii) What are you doing?
- (iv) Thuso of the children
- (v) Uncle of the twins
- (vi) How will you know me
- (vii) Thuso, play on and crash them
- (viii) They carry radio's in their hands

- (ix) You Mmanyee come forward and listen
- (x) Push, Mr Push
- (xi) Thuso, my friend, where are you?

RADIO SETSWANA

1. Motlong Aubrey (32)

- (i) *Dankie khazi*
- (ii) *Ke ya kafa*
- (iii) *Ke tseo*
- (iv) *Tsatsi la dikatara*
- (v) *Tsatsi la Saterdag*
- (vi) *Tsatsi la metsameko*
- (vii) *Wakatakata/O a katakata*
- (viii) *Gokatakata asigeseo/Go katakata ga se go
sia*
- (ix) *Gotsea plaka/Ke go tsaya plaka*
- (x) *Ke a koba*
- (xi) *Tshisa!*
- (xii) *Tlou ya twiki*

Translation

- (i) Thank you, my cousin

- (ii) I am going this way (eg. switching to a commercial)
- (iii) Here they come
- (iv) Day of guitars (of grooving)
- (v) Day of Saturday
- (vi) Day of sports
- (vii) He is retreating/going backwards
- (viii) To retreat is not to run away
- (ix) It is to go back for more pluck
- (x) I am bending over (for something else)
- (xi) Burn!
- (xii) Slender elephant

2. Kgatswe P (34)

- (i) *Mogasi wa gago yo o tlhwatthwa*
- (ii) *Tshaba go tshabiwe*

Translation

- (i) Your most valuable announcer/Your most precious DJ
- (ii) Run, so that we too can run/Flee, there is fleeing

RADIO LEBOWARadio Lebowa Announcers' Stylistic Creations1. Sethosa F M (42)

- (i) Zizi
- (ii) Zizi-Rethea
- (iii) *Fora bafana*
- (iv) *Maputla-A-Thamaga*
- (v) *Ke a putla*
- (vi) *Gata o gatoga*

Translation

- (i) (His name)
- (ii) (Extension of his name)
- (iii) France boys
- (iv) (A totemic name)
- (v) Passing over
- (iv) Please hurry up for work

2. Ramakgolo R I (35)

- (i) Gum boots
- (ii) Rams

- (iii) *A e tshwe lehulo*
- (iv) *Refoke ka boditsi*
- (v) *Re tshedise matlere*
- (vi) *A e hlabe fase ka lenaka*

Translation

- (i) (Refers to a special type of shoes)
- (ii) (From his surname)
- (iii) Take it easy
- (iv) Fan us with your wisk
- (v) Lead us on
- (vi) Let it take a rest

3. Mojapelo T M (35)

- (i) *Rati rati*
- (ii) *Ruthu!*
- (iii) *Tabanatswee*
- (iv) *Lelekeleke*
- (v) *Max the mixer*

Translation

- (i) Lots and lots of love
- (ii) (An ideophone, normally used when referring

- to an explosive situation)
- (iii) Here are the good/nice things
 - (iv) (Though no exact literal translation can be given, we assume this refers to something long and lanky)
 - (v) (From his name, Maxwell)

4. Legodi M N (36)

- (i) *Makone*
- (ii) The organiser of the evergreen station
- (iii) The orger wa the ever (a short form of (ii))

Translation

- (i) (A totemic name for the Bakone clans)
- (iii) (A shorter form of (ii))

5. Sefara R N (38)

- (i) *Farrass*
- (ii) *Mafarafara*
- (iii) *Mafarazozo*
- (iv) *Mazozo*
- (v) *Lebele*

(vi) *Lekubu*

Translation

(i-iv) (All derived from his surname)

(v) Ndebele nation

(vi) (A totemic name)

Praises

Setlogolo sa bathokwa

Ba mmopolwana tsa go tlala

Mokgalabje mneka ngwetsi

Translation

The grandchild of the Batlokwa

Those who are short tempered

The old man who needs a lass

RADIO VENDA

Radio Venda Announcers' Stylistic Creations

1. Sono Boas (46)

Sono has only praises which were composed by him, praising himself.

Praises

*Ndi nne mukumbathipetwi a ne a ri u petwa
A petuluwa muyani, Dryskin muthanga ane,
A bva Madombidzha Munarini*

Translation

I am a hide that refuses to be rolled up
Who, if rolled up, unrolls in the air, Dryskin A young man
who comes from Madombidzha Munarini

2. Ligudi T E (55)

Ligudi has praises instead of single created styles.

Praises

*Muduhulu wa Vhakwevho vha HaMatidze
Vha ntswu mulomo
Wa Lunungwi lwa Mmbabanana
Hu si na vhulwadzo ha nwana*

Translation

I am the grandchild of the Vhakwevho of HaMatidze
 Who are black, the mouth
 Of Lunungwi of Mmbabanana
 Where there is no child illness

3. Manabela M A (38)

Praises

Ndi V M

Ndi Vasco Manabela

Ndi mutendeleki

Ndi mudzhigeledzo

Ndi goloi ya muvhuso

I namedza munwe na munwe nga fhedzi

A hu na a sina

Mukovhu kha Radio-Venda

Translation

I am VM

I am Vasco Manabela

I am the wanderer

I turn around

I am the government's vehicle

Which carries everybody with no charge
 There is no one who does not have
 A share in Radio Venda

4. Nefalo Mpho (55)

Praises

Kwinda la Tshirunda-vhuya
 Wa Makundumuke
A sa liho mutshula wa mbudzi
 Ndi wa HaMadzhoromela
Tshikhopha nnwatele vhuhali a vhu na munwe

Translation

Kwinda of Tshirundu-vhuya
 Of Makundumuke
 Who does not eat a goat's tail
 He is of HaMadzhoromela
 Break me a piece of an aloe, nobody has fierceness.

RADIO TSONGA

Radio Tsonga Announcers' Stylistic Creations

1. Nkomo John (52)

Rather than having single air personalities, he has only praises which are traditional and culturally based.

*Hi mina dzadzamadzedze
Xikwembu xa le matini
Wa le ka Ncayincayi
Ka misinga yo ringana
Hi mina matswala hosi
I ndlozi lerikulu*

Translation

I am a vagrant
The god which lives under the water
I come from Ncayincayi land
The land of trees with equal height
I am the one who bears a chief
It is the great spirit

2. Makelana F E (33)

- (i) *Khel*
- (ii) *Brother khel*

RADIO METRO

Radio Metro Announcer's Stylistic Creations

1. Kemp Evidence (22)

- (i) Nothing else, but the Kemp
- (ii) Kemp, the one

SERMONS

Only three sermons in Sotho group stations were discovered to have formulaism in our analyses. They are:

Radio SeSotho

1. Rev Motingue

Ha re bale hammolo momamedi, Tshenolo kgaolo ya boraro temana ya leshole.

Ere ka ha o bolokile lentswe la mamello yaka le nna ke tla o loela nakong ya moleko o tlang ho hlahehwa lefatshe kaofela.

Momamedi morena Jesu o ile a bolela hore baahi ba lefatshe lohle ba tla hlahelwa ke dinako tse bohloko ha lefatshe lena le atamela bofello ba bona.

Qetellong dintho tsohle, Morena Jesu was rona e leng Jesu Krete o tla tla ka maru, o tla tla ka maru ha modimo o se o phetile morero ohle wa ona.

Mme mahlo ohle a tla ruona le bona momamedi, ba mo hlabileng, le ba mafeta yohle ya lefatshe, ba tla mmona.

Joale Satane o tla leka ka matla ohle a naleng ona ho hatella batho ba naleng nnete. O tla leka ho sitisa batho ba kereke le ho ba llisa hore ba balehe, ba qalane, ba tle ba hloleke ho kena bophelong bo sa feleng.

Empa momamedi, satane a keke a atleha ketsong yena ya hae.

Batkhethoa ba Modimo ba keke ba hloloa ke Satane le ka mohla o le mong.

Ke tla ho oena momamedi, ke etsa boipiletso ho oena hore ha o le ngoana wa modimo, ha o le mokhethoa a morena Jesu Krete o seke wa tshoha meleko e hlahelang motsotsong wa joale, ha a tseba lentswe la modimo dula o le bolekile.

Hobane Morena Jesus ore: 'ha o belekile lentsoe la mamelo yaka, le nna ke tla ho loela nakong ya moleko o tlang ho hlahela lefatshe kaofela.

Moleko o tla ba teng momamedi oa Satane. Satane o tla o tla etsa manole ha seritse re bona. O tla etsa mekutu ya hore kereke ya morena Jesu e bonahale o kare ha se yona mekutu eo. Empa Modimo o tla mo hlola.

Translation

Dear listener

We shall read together from Revelations, chapter three, verse ten.

Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I also will keep thee from the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the world, to try those that dwell upon the earth.

Dear listener, Jesus Christ has warned that mankind throughout the world will be faced with misery when this world nears its end.

In the end our Lord Jesus Christ will come in clouds, he shall come in clouds when God has fulfilled his aim.

And all the eyes shall see him dear listener, those who have pierced him, and all the nations of the world shall see him.

Then Satan will do all in his power to oppress the truthful. He will endeavour to hamper church members so that they can flee, and disperse, that they may not have eternal life.

But Satan, dear listener, will never succeed in his endeavours. God's chosen people will never be defeated by Satan. I come to you, dear listener, with a special appeal that if you are God's child, chosen for our Lord Jesus Christ, you must not fear the temptations of these times. If you know the word of God, keep it.

For the Lord Jesus says: If you keep my word and my commandments, I shall also keep you when the whole world will be faced with temptation.

There will be Satan's temptations, dear listener. Satan will create confusion as we can already see. He will cause confusion in such a way that the church of the Lord Jesus will not notice. But God will defeat him.

Radio Venda

1. Rev Tshanda

Lo kovhela vhathu vhothe.

Kha ri wane ipfi la Midzimu kha lunwalo lwa Pitiro, ndima ya vhuraru, u thoma kha ndimana thukhu ya 18-20, ine ya ri.

Hufha na Krsito o vhuya a fela zwivhi zwa vhathu? O fela vha songo lugaho uri a vha ise ha Mudzimu. O vhulawa lwa name, a tshidzwa lwa muya. O ralo a yo funza na mimuya i re khotthoni, ye kale i si tende musi u sa fhela mbilu ha

Mudzimu ho lindela maduvhani a Noaxe, musi hu tshi lugiswa mbulungelo ye khayo ha vha si vhangzhi. Ndi uri thoho thanu na thanu dzo tshidzwa lwa madini.

Mulisa a funeaho, haano maipfi ane a khou ambiwa nga Pitiro, ane a ri eletshedza nga ha u sa fhela mbilu ha Noaxe, zwifhingani zwa madi mahulwane, ndi mafhungo mahulwane. U sa fhela mbilu ha itwa nga Kristo musi a tshi tenda u fa kha tshifhambano, musi a tshi tenda u shengedzwa a sa fhele mbilu. Zwenezwo zwo ita uri shango li do kona u tshidzwa lothe. Zwiuhulu kha vhane vha do mu tenda nga mbilu dzavho, a vha nga fi, xwo itiswa nga u kondelela ha Kristo, we a tenda u fa, a shengedzwa, a pfelwa na mare. Tshilidzi tshingafhongafho tshe a ita uri tshi fhirele na kha vhone, uri na vhone vha kone u kondelela, u sa fhela mbilu musi mutani wavho vhe kha nndwa ya u lwa na Diabolo. Na vhone vha kondelele, vha songo fhela mbilu, ngauri o kundwa, sathani o kundwa. Vhone nndwa ine vha khou i lwa a si yavho, ndi nndwa ya Kristo o no di i kundaho nga u fa hawe tshifhambanoni, a vuwa vhidani, u ralo a ita uri vhothe vhane, vha do mu tenda, ri tshi kafela na vhone, arali vha tshi mu tenda, vha songo fa vha vhe na vhutshilo vhu sa fheliho. Naho

vho ima ngafhi, kha vha mu tangedze zwino uri vha do
kona u tshila.

Prayer:

Mudzimu wa tshilidzi, khotsi Ramaanda othe, ri a vha
renda, ri a vha livhuwa. Ro zwi pfa vha tshi khou amba na
rine vha tshi ri funzedza ndila ya mafhungo a ngoho a
vhutshilo. Ri a humbela-ha uri vhusiku vhuno vha ri
hangwele zwivhi zwashu nga dzina la Yesu Kristo. Amen.

Translation

Good evening to all of you.

Let us find the word of God in the book of Peter, chapter
three, verses 18-20, which reads as follows:

Even Christ died for the sins of the people! He died for
those who are bad so that they can lead them to God. His
body was killed, but his spirit was saved. As a result he
went to teach the spirits in hell which did not believe in
God's patience waiting for the days of Noah, when an ark
was being prepared in which very few people were able to
get inside. Only eight people were saved from water.

A beloved shepherd, these words of Peter, which remind us of Noah's patience, in the times of large waters, are great news. Patience was exercised by Christ when he died on the cross, when he patiently allowed himself to be tortured. Through this it was possible for the whole world to be saved. Especially to those who believe in him wholeheartedly, they will not die, because of Christ's perseverance, who allowed to die, tortured and spat on with saliva. He made this great compassion pass on to you, so that you can also persevere, to be patient when you are fighting conflict in your family. You must also persevere, do not be impatient; because he has been defeated; Satan has been defeated. The fight which you are engaged in is not yours, it is Christ's fight which he has already won by dying on the cross, and risen from the grave, so that all those who believe in him, including yourself, will live and have everlasting life. Wherever you are, accept Him now, so that you may live.

Prayer:

God of compassion, the almighty father, we praise you, we thank you. We heard you speaking to us, teaching us the

right direction of life. We ask you this evening to forgive us for our sins, in the name of Jesus Christ. Amen.

Radio Tsonga

1. Rev Chabangu

I ntsako eka mina ku mi kweta eka siku ra na munthla. Hi vito ra muponisi wa hina Yesu Kriste.

Hi ri karhi hi hlaya swinwe erito ra Xikwembu eka mixo lowu rho eka buku ya vadama ku avanyisa ka 13 ntzimano leyiTsongo ya 13.

Hi hlaya morito lawa:

Ahi fambeni hi mikhuva leyi fanelaka ku kotisa vanhu lava fambaka inhlekani ku ngari hi makampfu ni ku pyopyiwa ku nga timbholovo ni nanvodzo ni vu-oswi kunga hikwaswo leswi hambaneke hi ku rhondza ka Xikwembu Hi marito man'wana leha hi 'nga hlaya kona eka siku ra namutlha, wa tsundzuxia leswaku loko u ri nweni wa Xikwembu, ufane ku

famba eku vonakaleni u fanele ku famba ku fana in vahu
lava fambaka ni hlekanhi.

Loko munhu a famba ihlekanhi ku nga ri ni vusiku a ku na
laha onga tumbelaka kona, hambi o ringeta ku tumbela a swi
tumbeleki nihlekanhi. Hi marito manwaha swi vula leswaku
ha kunene loko u famba eku vonakaleni ka Xikwembu, u famba
ku vonakaleni ka vhangeli, u famba eku vonakalnei ka moya
lowo kwetsina munhu loyi a fambaka ni vusiku wa swi kota
ku tumbela.

Vhela vana va Xikwembu va fanele ku famba eku vonakaleni,
swo boha fanela leswaku hi fanele ku famba eku vonakalnei.
Hi minkarhi hinkwayo no le ntinyisweni wa Xikwembu.
Kutani u ta vona leswaku Xikwembu xi ta ku katekisa, Amen.

Translation

It is with great pleasure for me this morning to greet you
in the name of our saviour Jesus Christ.

We shall read together the word of God from the book of
Romans, chapter 13 verse 13.

It reads thus:

Let us behave decently, as in daytime, not in orgies and drunkenness, not in sexual immorality and debauchery, not in dissension and jealousy.

In other words, we are reminded that, as children of God, you must walk in the light, as one cannot hide in the daylight, meaning that when one walks in the light of day he is likened to a person who walks in the light of God, unlike those who walk in the dark and can hide (and do evil things) whereas one cannot hide during the day.

We are among those warned that one should walk in the light like the children of God. It is a duty of the children of God to always walk in the light all through our lives. In so doing, God will lead us (in the events of) today.

Let God bless you, Amen.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Primary sources consist of the SABC's annual reports, articles all recorded, live musical programmes and sermons. To differentiate between the programmes, (R) will stand for recorded and (L) for all monitored live programmes.

SOTHO GROUP

Recorded and Live Musical Programmes

Radio SeSotho

1. Chomane Chomane : B/C : 07/04/90 Re hleka sebae (R)
2. Chomane Chomane : B/C : 07/05/90 Kgetsi ya dimo (R)
3. Lebello Tseliso : B/C : 16/12/89 Matlae (R)
4. Lebello Tseliso : B/C : 02/06/89 Top Twenty (L)
5. Lebello Tseliso : B/C : 05/10/88 Soccer (L)
6. Motaung Thuso : B/C : 03/09/90 Nthabiseng (R) 10/09/90
7. Motaung Thuso : B/C : 11/11/90 Makgulong A Mafala (R)

8. Motaung Thuso : B/C : 03/11/90 Top 20 (R)
9. Sothoane S A P : B/C : 05/07/90 *Mafokotsane a Mose* (R)
10. Sothoane S A P : B/C : 06/07/90 *Motjhotjhomomo* (R)

Radio Setswana

1. Kgatswe P : B/C : 04/08/90 *Tsatsie la dikatara* (R)
11/08/90
2. Kgatswe P : B/C : 05/08/90 Soccer (L)
3. Motlounq Aubrey : B/C : 07/07/90 *Setswana Top 20* (L)
4. Motlounq Aubrey : B/C : 29/07/90 Soccer (L)

Radio Lebowa

1. Legodi M N : B/C : 14/07/90 *Sebokubeku* (R)
2. Legodi M N : B/C : 09/06/90 *Reggae Music* (R)
18/06/90
3. Legodi M N : B/C : 12/05/90 *Mpotse ke go Botse* (L)
4. Mojapelo T M : B/C : 03/03/90 Top 20 (L)
5. Mojapelo T M : B/C : 09/06/90 *Re a lotsha* (L)
6. Mojapelo T M : B/C : 10/05/90 *O gole, O gole*
7. Mojapelo T M : B/C : 02-04/07/90 *Tumi le Tumelo* (R)
8. Mojapelo T M : B/C : 15/07/90 *Lehlabile* (L)
9. Mojapelo T M : B/C : 18/08/90 *Mang ke Mang* (R)
10. Mojapelo T M : B/C : 11/08/90 *Dupelela* (L)

11. Mojapelo T M : B/C : 13/08/90 *Dinkgwete tsa ngwega*(R)
12. Mojapelo T M : B/C : 10/06/90 *Dinaledi* (L)
13. Mojapelo T M : B/C : 01/04/90 *Re gopola dinatla tsa*
mmino (R)
14. Ramakgolo R I : B/C : 25/08/90 *Mmino was Setso* (L)
15. Ramakgolo R I : B/C : 02/09/90 *Dithai* (R)
16. Ramakgolo R I : B/C : 06/10/90 *Country Music* (R)
17. Ramakgolo R I : B/C : 28/11/90 *Tsa pelong ya ka* (L)
18. Sethosa F M : B/C : 21/06/90 *Dumela Mongwera* (R)
19. Sethosa F M : B/C : 18/07/90 *Di a Duma* (L)
20. Sethosa F M : B/C : 19/07/90 *Ditsepela* (R)
21. Sethosa F M : B/C : 27/07/90 *Tsa Manyalo* (L)
22. Sethosa F M : B/C : 09/08/90 *Dikolong* (R)
23. Sethosa F M : B/C : 18/08/90 *Sebekubeku* (R)
24. Sethosa F M : B/C : 15/09/90 *Re a lotsha* (R)
25. Sethosa F M : B/C : 12/10/90 *Se a swa* (L)
26. Sethosa F M : B/C : 06/11/90 *Mokete wa Thabo* (L)
27. Sethosa F M : B/C : 09/11/90 *Mmapelo o ja serati* (R)
28. Sethosa F M : B/C : 13/11/90 Di sa le
Malekelekeng (R)
29. Sethosa F M : B/C : 21/11/90 *Melodilodi*
30. Sefara R N : B/C : 12/07/90 *Re a lotsa* (L)
31. Sefara R N : B/C : 18/07/90 *Dumela Mogwera* (L)

Sermons were all recorded during monitoring;

1. Dr Rev Motingoe : B/C : 14/20/90 Radio SeSotho
2. Rev Tsnananada : B/C : 09/09/90 Radio Venda
3. Rev Xn'Makwurhu : B/C : 25/10/90 Radio Tsonga

NGUNI GROUP

Recorded and Live Musical Programmes

Radio Zulu

1. Gasa T E : B/C : 03/90 - 12/90 News Bulletins (L)
2. Mchunu C B : B/C : 07/07/91 *Suka Sambe* (L) 14/07/91
3. Mchunu C B : B/C : 06-27/03/91 *Zakhala Izingcingo*
(L)
4. Mchunu C B : B/C : 25/12/91 *Ziphonselwe* (L)
5. Mchunu C B : B/C : 12/10/91 *A Kulalwa* (L)
6. Mkhize V O : B/C : Sundays 1991 *Ikhethelo*
Lasekhuya (R)
7. Mkhize V O : B/C : 20/07/90 *Ngidlalele* (L)
8. Mkhize V O : B/C : Saturdays 1991 *Party-time* (L)
9. Mnisi S W : B/C : 24/08/91 *Ziphonselwe* (L)

10. Mnisi S W : B/C : Saturdays 1991 Ezamabhungu
Namatshi-Tshi (L)
11. Nene T M E : B/C : 04/90 - 12/90 News Bulletins and
Public Affairs
12. Nzimande M W : B/C : 11/08/91 *Sigiya Ngengoma* (L)
13. Nzimande M W : B/C : 18/08/91 *Ezidl' Ubhedu* (L)
14. Nzimande M W : B/C : 08-12/10/91 *Selimathumzi* (L)

Radio Xhosa

1. Bacela P : B/C : 15/11/91 *Thant' Into Yakho* (R)
2. Bacela P : B/C : 18/11/90 *Zicelo Zakho* (R)
3. Bongco Z : B/C : 01/04/91 *Ezindilekileyo* (R)
4. Bongco Z : B/C : 03/04/91 *Amaciko* (R)
5. Bongco Z : B/C : 15/05/91 *Batshise Mbawula* (L)
6. Bongco Z : B/C : 22/06/91 *Ezemidlalo* (L)
7. Bongco Z : B/C : 20/06/91 *Siyatyelela* (R)
8. Kaso Z P : B/C : 16/06/91 *Batshise Mbawula* (L)
9. Kaso Z P : B/C : 01/07/91 *Ezemkolo* (R)
10. Kaso Z P : B/C : 08/07/91 *Hits of this Day* (R)
11. Makaza Vuyani : B/C : 10/08/91 *Ziyewukela* (R)
12. Mpunzi Fezile : B/C : 04/91 - 10/91 News Bulletins and
Actuality
13. Msimane Lifa : B/C : 09/07/91 *International Top 30* (L)

15/09/91 *Eze Jazz*

14. Magwa N : B/C : 12-15/09/91 *Ezelomwabo* (L)
 15. Nomsobo Velelo : B/C : 22/09/91 *Eziqagamgileyo* (R)
 16. Nomsobo Velelo : B/C : 26/09/91 *Ntabelekude* (R)

Radio Ndebele

1. Kekama I : B/C : 15/12/90 International Top
 Twenty (L) 22/12/90
 2. Mahlangu P D : B/C : 10/12/90 *Ezabantwana* (R)
 3. Mahlangu P D : B/C : 13/12/90 *Imikhomzo* (L)

Radio Swazi

1. Lukhele Shukuma : B/C : 29/12/90 National Top 20 (L)
 2. Sambo Alfred : B/C : 05/12/90 *Kugiya labasha* (R)
 3. Sambo Alfred : B/C : 07/12/90 *Tikhalela Bani* (R)

Radio Metro

1. Kemp Evidence : B/C : Saturdays 1990 Live Session
 21h00 - 01h00

Sermons

- Rev Mbatha A H : B/C : 31/12/90 Radio Zulu
 Rev Nombela : B/C : 18/11/90 Radio Xhosa

Internal SABC Articles

- | | | |
|---|-----------------|--------|
| 1. <i>Ons Korperasie</i> | (1990) | (SABC) |
| 2. <i>Interkom</i> | (July 1991) | (SABC) |
| 3. <i>Interkom</i> | (March 1991) | (SABC) |
| 4. <i>Interkom</i> | (December 1991) | (SABC) |
| 5. Nguni and Sotho Radio Group | (1984) | (SABC) |
| 6. Top Management Completed | (1991) | (SABC) |
| 7. This is the SABC: RADIO | (1987) | (SABC) |
| 8. <i>Die SAUK Totaalbeeld</i> | (1989) | (SABC) |
| 9. The SABC Enters a New Era | (1991) | (SABC) |
| 10. <i>Geskiedenis van die SAUK</i> | (1987) | (SABC) |
| 11. Radio: Strategic Planning | (July 1990) | (SABC) |
| 12. <i>Geskiedenis van SAUK se Radio-Uitsendings vir die Bantoe</i> | (1987) | (SABC) |

Interviews

The interviews were done with the following people to clarify some points about (i) the SABC, (ii) radio stations and (iii) the future of broadcasting within the SABC.

1. Koos Hadebe: Radio Metro station manager: Interviewed on
 'The Structure, Future and the Place of
 Radio Metro within the SABC'.

2. Louw J : Nguni-Sotho group Head: Interviewed on 'Black Services and their Future'.
3. Louw J: 'The Changing Format of Black Services'.
4. Kotze J: Manager Human Resources (Durban). Interviewed on 'The Restructuring at the SABC'.

Annual Reports

1. SABC Annual Reports 1940-1966
2. SABC Annual Reports 1967-1973
3. SABC Annual Reports 1974-1984
4. SABC Annual Reports 1987-1990

BOOKS & ARTICLES CONSULTED

SECONDARY SOURCES

I. LANGUAGE AND STYLE

A. GENERAL STUDIES

Abrams M H. 1981. *A Glossary of Literary Terms*. Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Ahler V L, D A Wilder and M L Atkinson. 1983. 'Multiple group Membership and Social Identity'. In *Studies in Social Identity* Volume 5:2.

Bareer C L. 1962. *The Story of Language*. Pan Books. London.

Barbu Z. 1971. *Society, Culture and Personality*. Blackwell.

Beardsley M C. 1958. *Aesthetics: Problems in the Philosophy of Criticism*. New York.

Bennet W A. 1969. *Aspects of Language and Language Teaching*. Cambridge University Press. New York.

Bernstein B. 1962. 'Linguistic Codes, Hesitation Phenomena and Intelligence'. *Language and Speech* 5:31-46.

Bloch B and G Trager. 1942. *Outline of Linguistic Analysis*. Baltimore.

Brook-Rose C. 1958. *A Grammar of Metaphor*. Secher and Warburg. London.

Brown R W. 1958. *Words and Things*. Free Press. Illinois.

Chase S. 1937. *The Tyranny of Words*. Brace. New York.

Chatman S (ed). 1971. *Literary Style: A symposium*. Longman. London.

Chileshe J D. 1983. 'Literacy, Literature and Ideological Formation: The Zambian Case'. PhD Thesis.

Chomsky N. 1972. *Language and Mind*. Harcourt Brace.

Cook-Gumperz (ed). 1986. *The Social Construction of Literacy*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Cooley C H. 1909. *Social Organisation*. Houghton Mifflin. Boston.

Crystal D and D Davy. 1969. *Investigating English Style*. Longman. London.

Cuddon J A. 1979. *A Dictionary of Literary Terms*. Penguin.

Derrida J. 1978. *Writing and Difference*. University of Chicago Press. Chicago.

Ehninger D, B E Gronbeck, R E McKerrow and A H Monroe. 1982. *Principles and Styles of Speech Communication*. Scott. New York.

Faulkner W. 1969. *The Sound and the Fury (Literatur in Wissenschaft u Unterricht)*.

Flesch R. 1951. *The Art of Plain Talk*. Collier McMillan. London.

Gower E. 1973. *The Complete Plain Words*. HMSO. London.

Gray B. 1969. *Style - the Problem and its Solution*. Mouton. Paris.

Gray G W and C M Wise. 1959. *The Bases of Speech*. Harper and Row. New York.

Guthrie M. 1970. *Collected Papers on Bantu Linguistics*. Gugg International Publishers. London.

Hawkes T. 1977. *Structuralism and Semiotics*. Methuen.

Hendricks W O. 1976. *Grammar of Style and Styles of Grammar*. North Holland.

Hjelmslev. 1969. *Prolegomena to a Theory of Language*. University of Wisconsin Press. London.

Hoggart J D (ed). 1957. *The Uses of Literacy*. Chatto.

Hough G. 1969. *Style and Stylistics*. Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Juhasz J B. 1983. 'Social Identity in the Context of Human and Personal Identity'. In *Studies in Social Identity* Vol 5:2.

Kessler L and D McDonald. 1984. *When Words Collide: A Journalist's Guide to Grammar Style*. Wadsworth. California.

Kluckhohm C. 1967. 'The Study of Culture'. In P I Rose. *The Study of Society*. New York.

Kock K. 1969. *The Growth of the Biblical Tradition: The Fourth Critical Method*. Black. London.

Kroeber A L. 1957. *Style and Civilization*. Cornell University Press. New York.

Kubheka J S. 1981. 'The Preliminary Survey of Zulu Dialects in Natal and Zululand'. Unpublished MA thesis. University of Natal. Durban.

Kuhn T. 1962. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Chicago.

Lakoff R T. 1982. 'Some of my Favourite Writers are Literate: The Mingling of Oral and Literate Strategies in Written Communication'. In Tannen (ed). Ablex. New Jersey.

Leech G H and M H Short. 1981. *Style in Fiction*. Longman. London.

Linton R. 1986. *The Study of Man: An Introduction*. Appleton-Century. New York.

Lyons J. 1977. *Semantics 1 and 2*. Cambridge University Press. New York.

Munham G and G Pearson. 1976. *The Working Class Youth Culture*. Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Murray J M. 1922. *The Problem of Style*. Milford Humphrey. London.

Nidditch P (ed). 1975. 'An Essay Concerning Human Understanding'. In John Locke. 1690. Claredon Press. Oxford.

Ornstein J and W Macky. 1979. *Sociolinguistic Studies in Language Context*. Mouton. De Hague.

Pear T H. 1957. *Personality, Appearance and Speech*. George Allen and Unwin. London.

Pollard A. 1970. *Satire: The Critical Idiom*. Methuen. London.

Pulgram E. 1951. 'Phoneme and Grapheme: A Parallel'. *Word* F:15-20.

Reaske C R. 1966. *How to Analyze Poetry*. Harvard University Press. New York.

Robins R H. 1964. *General Linguistics: An Introductory Survey*. Longmans. London.

Rose P I. 1967. *The Study of Society*. New York.

Rosen C. 1971. *The Classical Style*. Faber and Faber.

Sapir E. 1921. *Language: An Introduction to the Study of Speech*. Harcourt. New York.

Sarbin T R and K E Scheiber. 1983. *Studies in Social Identity*. Praeger.

Saussure de F. 1959. *Course in General Linguistics*. Philosophical Library. New York.

Sarbien T R and K E Scheiber. 1983. *Studies in Social Identity*. Praeger.

Sebeok T A (ed). 1960. *Style in Language*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Stubbs M. 1980. *Language and Literacy: The Sociolinguistics of Reading and Writing*. Routledge and Kegan Paul. London, Boston OR Henley?

Trudgill. 1974. *Sociolinguistics*. Northumberland.

Turner G W. 1973. *Stylistics*. Penguin.

Ullmann S. 1951. *Words and Their Use*. Muller. London.

Ullmann S. 1957. *Style in the French Novel*. Cambridge.

Ullmann S. 1973. *Meaning and Style*. Blackwell. Oxford.

Untermeyer L. 1968. *The Pursuit of Poetry*. Simon and Schuster. New York.

Vachek J. 1959. 'Two Chapters on Written English'. *Burno Studies in English* 1:7-34.

Wentzel P J. 1980. Third African Language Congress. Unisa. Pretoria.

B. AFRICAN/SOUTH AFRICAN STUDIES

Callaway H. 1968. *Nursery Tales, Traditions and Histories of the Zulus*. Tribner and Co.

Dhlomo H E. 1947. 'Zulu Folk Poetry'. *Native Teachers Journal* 6.

Hodza A C and G Fortune. 1979. *Shona Praise Poetry*. Clarendon Press. Oxford.

Masuku T M. 1973. *Uphondo Lukabhejame*. Van Schaik's.
Pretoria.

Msimang C T. 1980. 'Factors that Influence the Composition of
a Praise Poem in Zulu'. In Wentzel pp220-38).

Msimang C T. 1981. 'Imagery in Zulu Praise Poetry'. *Limi*
9:51-76.

C. ORAL STYLE

1. GENERAL

Arnode R and T Arboleda. 1973. 'Literacy: Power or
Mystification'. *Literacy Discussions* 4(4):407.

Bartz J. 1988. 'The Many Words of Walter Ong'. *Universitas:
The Alumni Magazine of St Louis University*. St Louis.

Bascom W. 1954. 'Four Functions of Folklore'. *Journal of
American Folklore* 67:333-49.

Blankenship J. 1962. 'A Linguistic Analysis of Oral and
Written Style'. *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 48(4):9-22.

Botha P J J. 1991. 'Orality-literacy and Worldview: Exploring the Interaction'. *Communication* 17(2).

Brown G. 1978. 'Understanding Spoken Language'. *Jesol Quarterly* 12:271-83.

Capp R G and Capp. 1976. *Basic Oral Communication*. New Jersey.

Campaine B. 1983. 'The New Literacy'. *Science Digest* (March).

Culley R C. 1967. *Oral-Formulaic Language in Biblical Psalms*. Toront.

Disch R (ed). 1973. *The Future of Literacy*. Prentice Hall. New Jersey.

Drieman G H J. 1962. 'Differences between Written and Spoken Language'. *Acta Psychologica* 20:36-58,79-100.

Duggan J. 1973. *The Song of Roland: Formulaic Style and Poetic Craft*. California University Press. Berkeley.

Ellul J. 1985. *The Humiliation of the Word*. Eerdmans. Grand Rapids.

Ellul J. 1964. *The Technological Society*. Alfred A Knopf. New York.

Entraigo P L. 1970. 'The Therapy of the Word in Classical Antiquity'. In L J Rather and J M Sharp (ed and trans). *Tale Univeristy*. New Haven.

Finnegan R. 1973. 'Literacy Vs Non-Literacy: The Great Divide?' In R Horton and R Finnegan (eds). *Modes of Thought: Essays on Thinking in Western and Non-Western Societies*. Faber and Faber. London.

Finnegan R. 1988. *Literacy and Orality: Studies in the Technology of Communication*. Blackwell. Oxford.

Finnegan R. 1992. *Oral Traditions and the Verbal Arts*. Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Foley J M .1 985. *Oral-Formulaic Theory and Research: An Introduction and Annotated Bibliography*. Garland.

Frielick S. 1991. *Orality and Ecology: Steps to a New Paradigm of Knowledge*. Witwatersrand University Press. Johannesburg.

Goody J (ed). 1968. *Literacy in Traditional Societies*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Goody J. 1971. *Technology: Tradition and the State in Africa*. London.

Goody J. 1972. 'Literacy and the Non-Literate'. *Times Literacy Supplement*. 12 May 1972.

Goody J. 1973. *Evolution and Communication: The Savage Mind*. British Journal of Sociology Vol 16 New York.

Goody J. 1977. *The Domestication of the Savage Mind*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Goody J. 1986. *The Logic of Writing and the Organisation of Society*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Goody J. 1987a. *The Interface Between the Written and the Oral*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Goody J. 1987b. *The Logic of Writing and the Organisation of Society*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Greene W. 1951. 'The Spoken and Written Word'. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 60:23-59.

Hainsworth J B. 1968. *The Flexibility of the Homeric Formula*. Clarendon Press. Oxford.

Havelock E A. 1963. *Preface to Plato*. Harvard University Press.

Havelock E A. 1973. *Prologue to Greek Literacy*. Cincinnati.

Havelock E A. 1976. *Origin of Western Literacy*. Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. Toronto.

Havelock E A. 1978. *The Greek Concept of Justice: From its Shadow in Homer to its Substance in Plato*. Harvard University Press. Massachusetts.

Havelock E A and J Hershbell. 1978. *Communication Arts in the Ancient World*. Hastings House. New York.

Havelock E A. 1982. *The Literate Revolution in Ancient Greece and its Cultural Consequences*. Princeton University Press.

Havelock E A. 1982. *The Oral and the Written Word: A Reappraisal*. Lit Rev Series No 16.

Hirsch R. 1978. *The Printed Word and its Impact and Diffusion*. Variorum. London.

Horton R. 1967. 'African Tradition Thought and Western Science'. *African* 37:50-71,155-177.

Jakobson R. 1970. 'Subliminal Verbal Patterning in Poetry'. *Studies in General and Oriental Linguistics*. Presented to Hatton. Tokyo. 202-308.

Kierkegaard S. 1962. *The Present Age*. Harper. New York.

Kirk G S. 1965. *Homer and the Epic*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Kugel J L. 1981. *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and its History*. Yale University Press.

Malinowski B. 1930. 'The Problem of Meaning in Primitive Languages'. In C K Ogden and I A Richards. *The Meaning of Meaning*. New York.

Mathew R . 1979. 'Bilingualism in a Swiss Canton: Language Choice in Tierno'. In Mackey and J Ornstein (ed).

McLuhan M. 1962a. *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographical Man*. Toronto University Press. Toronto.

McLuhan M. 1962a. *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*. MacGraw-Hill. New York.

McLuhan M and Q Fiore. 1967. *The Medium is Message*. Bantam Books. New York.

McLuhan M. 1970. *Counterblast*. Rapp and Whiting. London.

McLuhan M. 1972. *Culture is our Business*. MacGraw-Hill. New York.

Ong W J. 1958. *Ramus, Method and the Decay of Dialogue*. Harvard University Press. Massachusetts.

Ong W J. 1967. *In the Human Grain: Further Exploration's of Contemporary Culture*. MacMillan. London.

Ong W J. 1967. *The Presence of the Word*. Yale University Press. New Haven.

Ong W J. 1977. *Interfaces of the Word*. Cornell University Press. Ithaca.

Ong W J. 1978. 'Technology Outside US and Inside US'. *Commenio* 5:100-121.

Ong W J. 1978. 'Literacy and Orality in our Times'. *ADE Bulletin* 58:1-7.

Ong W J. 1982. *Orality and Literacy: The Technologised Word*. Methuen. London.

Ong W J. 1987. 'Orality and Literacy Studies and the Unity of Age Humanrace'. University of Natal. Oral Documentation Centre. Durban.

Oxenham J. 1980. *Literacy: Writing, Reading, and Social Organisation*. Routledge and Kegan Paul. London.

Rahnema M. 1976. 'Literacy: To Read the Word or the World'. *Prospects* 6(1).

Redfield R. 1953. *The Primitive World and Its Implications*. Ithaca. New York.

Reisman D. 1956. 'The Oral and Written Traditions'. *Explorations* 6.

Reisman D. 1956. *The Oral Tradition, the Written Word and the Screen Image*. Yellow Springs. Ohio.

Rosenberg B. 1969. 'The Oral Quality of Reverend Shegog's Sermon'. In W Faulkner. *The Sound and the Fury* LWV, 2:73-88.

Rosenberg B. 1970. 'The Formulaic Quality of Spontaneous Sermons'. *Journal of American Folklore* 83:3-20.

Rosenberg B. 1971. 'The Genre of the Folk Sermons'. *Genre* 4:189-211.

Rosenberg B. 1974. 'The Psychology of the Spiritual Sermon'. In I I Zoretsky and M P Leone (eds). *Religious Movements in Contemporary America*. Princeton University Press.

Rosenberg B. 1975. *Oral Sermons and Oral Normative*. Folklore Preprint Series. 75-101.

Sienaert E and A N Bell. 1988. *Oral Tradition and Education*. Oral Documentation and Research Centre. University of Natal. Durban.

Sienaert E, A N Bell and M Lewis. 1992. *Oral Tradition and Innovation: New Wine in Old Bottles?* University of Natal. Durban.

Stacey M. 1960. *Tradition and Change: A Study of Banbury*.
Oxford University Press.

Stearn G E. 1968. *McLuhan Hot and Cool*. Penguin.
Harmondsworth.

Tannen D (ed). 1981. *Analysing Discourse: Text and Talk*.
Georgetown University Press. Washington DC.

Tannen D. 1982. 'Oral and Literature Strategies in Spoken and
Written Narratives'. *Language* 58:1-21.

Tannen D (ed). 1982. 'Spoken and Written Language'. *Exploring
Orality and Literacy* 9.

Tannen D. 1984. *Coherence in Spoken and Written Discourse* 12.
Ablex. New Jersey.

Taylor E B. 1924. *Primitive Culture*. Brentano.

Tedlock D. 1983. *The Spoken Word and the Work of
Interpretation*. University of Pennsylvania Press.
Philadelphia.

Turner N S. 1990. 'Elements of Satire in Zulu Oral Traditions'. Unpublished MA Dissertation. University of Natal. Durban.

Vachek J. 1973. Written Language. *Janua Linguarum Ser Critica* 14. The Hague.

Vansina J. 1985. *Oral Tradition as History*. James Currey. London.

Vygotsky L S. 1961. *Thought and Language*. Massachusetts.

Walters W R. 1976. *Formulaic Criticism and the Poetry of the Old Testament*. De Gruyter. New York.

Whallon W. 1969. *Formula, Character and Context: Studies in Homeric, Old English and Old Testament Poetry*. Harvard University Press. Cambridge.

Whitehead M F (ed). 1978. *Variation in Writing*. Lawrence Erlbaum Association. New Jersey.

2. AFRICAN

Anyidaho R. 1983. *Oral Poetics and Traditions of Verbal Art in Africa*. University Microfilm International. Ann Arbor.

Bryant A T. 1963. *Bantu Origins: The People and their Language*. Struik. Cape Town.

Carothes J C. 1959. *Culture, Psychiatry and the Written Word*.

Canonici N N . 1989. *The Zulu Folktales*. Dept of Zulu Language and Literature. University of Natal.

Frielick S. 1988. 'Winged Words/Caged Text: Oxford Tradition and Teaching African Literature'. In E Sienaert and A N Bell (eds). *Oral Tradition and Education*.

Greenfield P M. 1972. 'Oral or Written Language : The Consequences for Cognitive Development in Africa, the US and England'. *Language and Speech* 15:169-177.

Gunner E. 1984. 'Ukubonga, Nezibongo: Zulu praising and Praises'. Unpublished PhD Dissertation. University of London.

Iyasere S O. 1975. 'Oral Tradition in the Criticism of African Literature'. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 13.

Kaschula R H. 1992. 'New Wine in Old Bottles: Some thoughts on the Orality-Literacy debate, with specific reference to the Xhosa *Imbongi*'. In Sienaert et al (1992).

Maphalala W N. 1990. 'Oral Traditional Aspects of the Zulu Proverbs'. Unpublished MA thesis. University of Natal. Durban.

Mkhize V V. 1990. 'Oral-formulaic Language in King Zwelithu's *Izibongo*'. Unpublished MA Thesis. University of Natal. Durban.

Mzamane M V. 1984. 'The Uses of traditional oral forms in black South African literature'. In L White and T Couzens (eds). *Literature and Society in South Africa*. Ravan Press.

Ngugi W. 1977. *Decolonizing the Mind*. Heineman.

White L and T Couzens (eds). 1984. *Literature and Society in South Africa*. Ravan Press.

II. COMMUNICATION

A. GENERAL

Anderson M P, E R Nichols (Jr) and H W Booth. 1964. *The Speaker and his Audience*. Harper and Row.

Ansah P A V. 1989. 'The Path Between Cultural Isolation and Cultural Dependency'. In *Media Developments* 2.

Bagdikian B H. 1971. *The Information Machines: Their Impact on Men and the Media*. Harper and Row. New York.

Baggaley J and S Duck. 1976. *The Dynamics of Television*. Saxon House. Farnborough.

Brown C J, T R Brown and W L Rivers. 1978. *The Media and People*. Holt Rinehart and Winston. USA.

Buck E. 1987. Draft of working paper for the Cultural Studies Meeting 14-19 September. East West Centre. Honolulu.

Budd R and B D Ruben. 1979. *Beyond Media: New Approaches to Mass Communication*. NJ Hayden Book. New Jersey.

Burns A (ed). 1984. *New Information Technology*. Horwood. Chichester.

Carpenter E and M McLuhan. 1960. *Explorations in Communication*. Beacon Press. Boston.

Cherry C. 1966. *On Human Communications*. Cambridge.

Cherry C. 1971. *World Communication: Threat or Promise? A Sociotechnical Approach*. Wiley. London.

Condon J C and F S Yousef. 1975. *An Introduction to Intercultural Communication*. MacMillan. New York.

Corner J and J Hawthorn (eds). 1980. *Communication Studies*. Edward Arnold. London.

De Fleur M and D Everette. 1981. *Communications*. Houghton Mifflin. Boston.

Dervin B and M J Voigt (eds). 1978. *Progress in Communication Sciences*. Ablex. New Jersey.

De Wet J C. 1988. *The Art of Persuasive Communication*. Juta.

Einstein E L. 1979. *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Gerber G, L P Gross and W H Melody. 1973. *Communications Technology and Social Policy: Understanding the New Cultural Revolution*.

Golding P. 1974. *The Mass Media*. Longman. London.

Goodhart G J. 1975. *The Television Audience*. Saxon House.

Halloran J D (ed). 1975. *The Effects of Television*. Panther.

Hartley J . 1987. *Understanding News*. Routledge and Kegan Paul. London.

Janis H A. 1964. *The Bias of Communication*. University of Toronto Press. Toronto.

Katz E and P F Lazarsfeld. 1955. *Personal Influence*. MacMillan.

Leach E. 1976. *Culture and Communication*. Cambridge University Press. London.

Lee I J. 1941. *Language Habits in Human Affairs*. Harper and Row. New York.

Lyle G. 1973. *Broadcasting*. Batsford. London.

McQuail D. 1969 *Towards a Sociology of Mass Communications*. McMillan, London.

Mead G H. 1934. 'Mind, Self and Society: From the Standpoint of a Social Behaviourist'. In Charles W Morris (ed). University of Chicago Press. Chicago.

Megarry J. 1985. *Inside Information: Computer, Communication and People*. BBC. London.

Miller J. 1971. *McLuhan*. Williams Collins. Glasgow.

Norbert W. 1950. *The Human Use of Human Beings*. Doubleday and Co.

Park K. 1938. 'Reflection on Communication and Culture'. *American Journal of Sociology* 44.

Pawley A and F Syder. 1981. 'The One-clause-at-a-time Hypothesis'. Unpublished MS thesis. University of Auckland.

Pegg M. 1983. *Broadcasting and Society*. Croom Helm. London OR Canberra.

Pool I de S. 1977. *The Social Impact of the Telephone*. MIT Press. Massachusetts.

Pool I de S. 1983. *Forecasting the Telephone: A Retrospective Technology Assessment*. Ablex Norwood. New Jersey.

Pool I de S. 1983. *Technologies of Freedom*. Belknap Press. Massachusetts.

Punters D. 1985. *The Hidden Script: Writing and the Unconscious*. Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Raubenheimer L. 1990. (a) 'Towards an Open Media for a New South Africa'. In *Media*, December 1990.

Raubenheimer L. 1990. (b) 'The Position, Structure, Control and Financing of the SABC must also be placed under the Magnifying Glass'. Review: Rhodes University Vol 1. November.

Raymonds W. 1961. *The Long Revolution*. Penguin.
Harmondsworth.

Raymonds W. 1971. *Culture and Society*. Penguin.
Harmondsworth.

Raymonds W. 1974. *Television: Technology and Cultural Form*.
Fontana.

Raymonds W. 1981. *Culture*. Fontana.

Raymonds W. 1981. *Human Communication*. Thames and Hudson.
London.

Scuphan J. 1970. *The Revolution in Communication*. Holt, Rinehart and Winston. London.

Smith A G (ed). 1966. *Communication and Culture*. Hold Rinehart and Winston. New York.

Sommerville I. 1983. *Information Unlimited: The Application and Implications of Information Technology*. Addison-Wesley. London.

Tomaselli K G. 1987. 'Contested Terrain Struggle through Culture'. *Communication* 13(2).

Tubbs S L and S Moss. 1974. *Human Communication: An Interpersonal Perspective*. Random House. New York.

Walker J. 1983. *Art in the Age of Mass Media*. Pluto.

Weizenbaum. 1984. *Computer Power and Human Reason*. Penguin. Harmondsworth.

Zaretsky I I and M P Leone. 1974. *Religious Movements in Contemporary America*. Princeton University Press. Princeton.

Zorkoczy P. 1985. *Information Technology: An Introduction*. Pitman. London.

B. RADIO

Alten, S R. 1983. *Audio in Media*. Wadsworth Publishing Company. California.

Brecht B. 1967. *Radio Theorie in Gesammelte Werke 18*. Suhrkamp. Frankfurt.

Briggs A. 1981. *Those Radio Times*. Weidenfeld and Nicholson. London.

Briggs A. 1961. *The Birth of Broadcasting*. Oxford University Press. Oxford.

Briggs A. 1962. *The Golden Age of Wireless*. Oxford University Press. Oxford.

Briggs A. 1979. *Sound and Vision*. Oxford University Press. Oxford.

Buxton F and B Owen. 1966. *Radio's Golden Age*. Easton Valley Press. New York.

Callaghan W. 1973. *Aesthetics and the Theory of Criticisms: Selected Essays*. Chicago.

Hale J. 1975. *Radio Power*. Paul Elek. Great Britian.

Halls E T. 1968. *The Silent Language*. Greenwich.

Heath R. 1969. *Radio and Television*. London.

Johnson J S and K K Jones. 1983. *Modern Radio Station Practices*.

Kirschner L and A. 1971. *Radio and Television*. New York.

Mandelsohn H. 1964. 'Listening to Radio'. In L A Dexter and D M White (eds).

McWhinnie D. 1959. *The Art of Radio*. Faber and Faber. London.

McIntyre A. 1976. *A Short History of Ethics*. London.

O'Donnell L B, P Benoit and C Hausman. 1986. *Modern Radio Production*. Wadsworth. California.

Ogden C K and I A Richard. 1930. *The Meaning of Meaning*. New York.

Paulu B. 1974. *Radio and Television: Broadcasting in Eastern Europe*. University of Minnesota Press. Minneapolis.

Sieveking L. 1934. *The Stuff of Radio*. Casell. London.

Silvey R. 1974. *Who is Listening?* George Allen and Unwin. London.

Tomaselli K, and J Muller. 1989. 'Currents of Power: State Broadcasting in South Africa'. *Anthropos*.

C. COMMUNICATION IN RADIO

Beck A H W. 1967. *Words and Waves*. Weidenfeld and Nicholson. London.

Bittner J R. 1980. *Broadcasting: An Introduction*. Prentice Hall. New Jersey.

Briggs A. 1970. *The War of Words*. Oxford University Press. Oxford.

British Broadcasting Corporation. 1976. *Words: Reflections on the Uses of Language*. BBC.

Chester, G Garrison and E E Willis. 1978. *Television and Radio*. Prentice Hall. New Jersey.

Coase R L. 1950. *British Broadcasting: A Study of Monopoly*. Longman. London

Conrad P. 1983. *Television: The Medium and its Manners*. Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Corrigan E C. 1974. 'South Africa enter the Electronic Age: The Decision to Introduce Television'. *Africa Today* 21:15-28.

Crisell A. 1986. *Understanding Radio*. Methuen. London and New York?

De Fleur M L and S J Ball-Rokeach. 1982. *Theories of Mass Communication*. Longman. London and New York.

Dudek L J. 1981. *Professional Broadcast Announcing*. Newton Massi Allyn and Bacon.

Eckersley P. 1942. *The Power Behind the Microphone*. Longman. London.

Foster E S. 1978. *Understanding Broadcasting*. Addison Wesley. London.

Forester T (ed). 1980. *The Micro-Electronic Revolution*. Blackwell. Oxford.

Forester T (ed). 1985. *The Information Technology Revolution*. Blackwell. Oxford.

Fuchs D. 1969. 'Die Radio en die Gesproke Woord'. *Tydskif vir die Geestewetenskappe* 9.

Goffman E. 1980. 'The Radio Drama Frame'. In J Corner and J Hawthorn (eds). *Communication Studies*. Edward Arnold. London.

Hybels S and D Ulloth. 1978. *Broadcasting: An Introduction on Radio and Television*. Litton Education Publication. New York.

Hyde S. 1971. *Television and Radio Announcing*. Houghton Mifflin. Boston.

Hyde S. 1983. *Television and Radio Announcing*. Houghton Mifflin. Boston.

Katz E and G Weddell. 1977. *Broadcasting in the Third World*. Harvard Univeristy Press. Massachusetts.

Lee P (ed). 1985. *Communication for All*. Orbis Books. New York.

O'Donnel L B, B Lewis, C Hausman and P Benoit. 1987. *Announcing: Broadcast Communication Today*. Wadsworth. California.

Pear T H. 1931. *Voice and Personality*. Chapman and Hall. London.

Reith L. 1924. *Broadcasting over Britain*. Hodder and Stroughton.

Singer C, E J Holmyard and J M Donaldson (eds). 1954/8. *A History of Technology 1 (1954) and 4 (1958)*. Cleredon Press. Oxford.

Smith F L. 1979. *Perspective on Radio and Television*. Harper and Row. New York.

Summer R E and H B Summer. 1966. *Broadcasting and the Public*. Wadsworth. California.

Susskind C. 1973. *Understanding Technology*. The John Hopkins University Press. Baltimore.

Uranga W. 1985. 'NWICO: The New World Information and Communication Order'. In P Lee (ed). *Communication for All*. Orbis Books. New York.

D. BLACK RADIO COMMUNICATION

Collet H O. 1951. 'The Development of Broadcasting in the Union of South Africa'. Transaction of the *South African Institute of Electrical Engineers*. May.

Collet H O and D J Steven. 1964. 'VHF/FM Sound Broadcast in the Republic of South Africa'. *EBU Review Part A: Technical* 84 April.

Collins R (ed) 1992 *Critical Arts: A Journal for Cultural studies* Vol. 6 No. 1

De Villiers S. 1963. 'Die Uitbouing van Radio Dienste vir Bantoe'. *Hertzog Annale van die SA Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns* 10(16).

Frederickse J and D Pinnock. 1991. 'Radio: A Real Voice in the Rural Wilderness (Media in Transition)'. *Supplement to The Weekly Mail*. 30 May - 6 June 1991.

Grierson H. 1990. 'Local Radio: Good News for Small Business'. *Media*, December 1990.

Hachten W.A. and Giffard C.A. 1984 *Total Onslaught; The South African Press Under Attack*. Johannesburg; McMillan.

Head S W. 1974. *Broadcasting in Africa: A Continental Survey of Radio and Television*. Temple University Press. Philadelphia.

Louw E (1992) 'Language and National unity in a Post Apartheid South Africa' in *Critical Arts* (Vol. 6 No.1 1992)

Louw E (1989) 'Language, policy and National unity' in *Language projects review* (Vol. 4 No.3 1989)

Louw E (ed) 1993 *South Africa:Media Policy Debates of the 1990's* (forthcoming) Anthropolos.

Mills D H. 1970. 'Survey of Broadcasting in South Africa'. Transaction of the *South African Institute of Electronic Engineers*. March 1970.

Mphahlele M. 1991. 'Sport and Music lead the way towards TV Multilingualism'. In *Supplement to the Weekly Mail*. May 30 - June 6.

Mphahlele M 1991. 'Media in Transition'. In *Daily News*, November 8.

Orlik P. 1970. 'The South African Broadcasting Corporation: A Historical Survey and Contemporary Analysis'. Unpublished PhD Thesis. Wayne State University.

Roos G. 1954. 'Broadcasting in South Africa'. *Finance and Trade Review* 1.

Rosenthal E. 1974. *You Have Been Listening: The Early History of Radio in South Africa*. Purbell. Cape Town.

Switzer L. 1985. 'Media and Dependency in South Africa'. Monographs in International Studies. *African Series* 47. Cathens. Ohio.

Valentine S. 1990. '... But radio can make a difference now' In *Media*, December 1990.

INDEX NOMINUM

Aubrey.....	151,152,153
Bacela.....	274,275
Bongco.....	279,281
Bhodloza.....	217,244,246,247,249
Chomane.....	143,144,145
Gasa.....	259,260,261
Goody.....	19,20,21,27,125,127
Havelock.....	2,12,29
Jousse.....	32,38,39,47,48,116,120,145,154,155,156,180,190
.....	205,206,229,230,248,257,258,274,275,388,390,395,396
Kansas.....	218,224,225,226,227,457,469,477
Kaso.....	293,294,295,453,477
Kekane.....	302,308
Kemp.....	321
Kgatswe.....	157,159,190
Leballo.....	147,148
Legodi.....	203,205
Ligudu.....	186,190
Lord.....	2,10,11,16,19,20,24,27,28,29,33,34,45,46,48,172,458
Makelana.....	226,228
Makaza.....	285,287,289
Makazi.....	15,29,39,294
Mahlangu.....	297,299,301,302,303,304,455,456,481,484
Manabela.....	219,220
Mbatha.....	354,355,357,359,361,362,366
Mc Luhan.....	9,11,12,13,14,18,20,26,27,30,32,48,51,120,122
.....	123,126,127,129,130,132,139,142,158,159,190,202
.....	314,315
Mkhize.....	231,232,234,236,357,362,379
Mnisi.....	238,240,256,486
Motaung.....	152,168,170,171,181,545,455,477
Msimang.....	309,310,311,373
Nene.....	253,255
Nkomo.....	200,201
Nomsobo.....	291,292
Nzimande.....	217,244,245,247
Ong.....	1,2,9,10,11,14,15,16,17,18,21,22,26,28,29,31,39,47
.....	48,115,124,125,180,197,203,206,208,212,248,251
Parry.....	1,2,10,24,233
Peabody.....	374,375,378,422,451
Ramakgolo.....	173,174,175
Sambo.....	316,317,318
Sefara.....	165,166,168
Sethosa.....	160,161,162
Sono.....	191,192,194
Sothoane.....	146,147
Thuso.....	138,139,140,142

INDEX RERUM (TECHNICAL TERMS)

Air-personalities.....	33, 33, 40, 303, 325
Acculturation.....	464, 465, 466, 467, 469, 470, 473, 474
Alliteration.....	14, 124, 156, 172, 182, 183, 191, 197
	232, 288, 389, 390, 395, 396
Announcer.....	17, 20, 24, 34, 38, 47, 48, 49, 55, 474, 475, 478, 480, 487
	490, 542, 546, 549
Artistic.....	15, 20, 25, 36, 47, 48, 50, 145, 163, 179, 197, 205, 211
	215, 216, 231, 240, 352, 353, 362, 471, 473, 487
Assonance.....	19, 23, 29, 34, 39, 46, 124, 156, 172, 182, 388
Black City Radio.....	47
Black languages.....	13
Broadcasting.....	13, 32, 41, 42, 43, 44, 105, 112
Communication.....	32, 41, 42, 91, 93
Culture.....	55, 56, 57, 58, 312, 421
Creation.....	33
Dry stylistic creations.....	1, 125, 130, 151, 208, 315
Formular.....	321, 332, 333, 342, 411, 416
Geneology.....	180, 200, 201, 206
Hyperbole.....	356, 359
Imagery.....	341, 342, 344, 352
Individualistic.....	18, 29
Izibongo.....	20, 22, 30, 36, 39, 150, 172, 369
Language.....	86, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92
Metaphor.....	345, 346, 348
Mnemonic device.....	38, 359, 360
Mnemotechnical device.....	38, 352, 388
Mnemotechnical link.....	38, 352, 388
Mnemotechnical.....	38, 388
Myth.....	36
Nguni.....	3, 6, 9, 72, 78, 217, 326
Oral language.....	46, 93, 95, 96
Parallelism....	19, 23, 34, 39, 48, 156, 182, 183, 232, 360, 366, 388, 389
	390, 396
Personification.....	348, 350
Phonological.....	141, 171, 218
Popular culture.....	56, 58, 59, 60
Proverbs.....	20, 23, 26, 36, 124, 203, 207, 208
Psychological.....	370, 371
Psycho-physiological.....	371, 373
Radio.....	1, 2, 19, 29, 39, 211
Radio Lebowa.....	19, 45, 46, 54, 107
Radio Metro.....	47, 469
Radio Ndebele.....	10, 50, 73, 97, 101
Radio SeSotho.....	10, 47, 54, 53, 76, 78
Radio Swazi.....	10, 34, 35, 45, 50, 73, 97, 102, 336, 337
Radio Tsonga.....	9, 54, 55, 73

Radio Venda.....	9,10,48,54,73
Radio Xhosa.....	10,29,48,49,73,76,97,100,477
Radio Zulu.....	10,17,24,34,48,73,97,244,312,477
Rhyme.....	22,31,39,47,222,395,396
Rhythm.....	20,29,34,36,37,48,116,150,154,172,183,189,199,204
	205,233,237,248,270,271,301,366,389,397
Rhythmical.....	301,321,359
Rhythmic.....	356,359
Rhythmo-mimicry.....	361
Rhythmo-mimism.....	361
Simile.....	343,344
Society.....	52,53,54,93,94,100,120
Spoken language.....	90,91,93,181,412,422
Spoken style.....	90,91,93,181,412,422
Spoken words.....	24-32,90,91,93,402,570
Style.....	32-41,120,222,309,422
Symbol.....	350,351,352,354,355
Technologised stylistic creations....	18,23,33,161,222,309,422
Written Style.....	90,91,93,569
Written words.....	24-32,90,91,93,420